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PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND PROFESSIONAL ETHICS IN THE NEW PROFESSION OF CITY MANAGER

A DISCUSSION

BY RICHARD S. CHILDS, HENRY M. WAITE AND OTHERS 1

The Opening Paper

BY RICHARD S. CHILDS Secretary, National Short Ballot Organization

PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS

HE first question before the house is, "What is a city manager?" It is obvious that everybody who calls himself a city manager is not necessarily a real one. It is obvious that the title of city manager conferred upon a given office in a city charter does not necessarily make the incumbent really a city manager or entitle him to admission into a scrupulous city managers' association as a member of the profession in full standing.

A certain city in Tennessee, for example, had an officer known as the city commissioner, who had considerable work to do in connection with public works. The council passed a resolution which ran substantially as follows:

Whereas it is getting to be the fashion for up to date cities to have city managers, and,

WHEREAS it will make —— City look like an up to date city to have a city manager,

Therefore, be it resolved, that the title of the present city commissioner be changed to city manager.

As presented at the meeting of the National Municipal League, Dayton, Ohio, Nov. 18, 1915. For the discussion of the city manager plan at the Baltimore meeting of the League see the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. iv, p. 40.

To be sure that officer had little or no appointive power, was completely excluded from some of the most important city departments, and despite his title, could not in any sense assume to "manage" the city, but the council nevertheless forwarded a copy of the resolution to the Short Ballot Organization and evidently expected to be listed thenceforth among commission manager cities, and no doubt the city manager of that town considers himself a full-fledged city manager,

Titusville, Pa., has a so-called city manager, but he is only the manager of part of the departments. The police department, for example, is not under his charge at all. He is in reality simply a superintendent of public works. In San Diego, Cal., likewise, the powers of the city manager and the experience and training which he is getting are very incomplete.

Another set of cases is the cities which have a city manager subject to divided responsibility under a mayor and council of the old-fashioned type. Such cities have city managers, but not the commission-manager plan. In some cases the manager is appointed by the mayor. Such a framework of government, lacking so many of the basic principles which are essential to good government in the long run, is very liable to get into trouble from time to time and to give to the true commission-manager plan and to city managers, an undeserved bad name.

Should not the City Managers' Association, anxious to establish high and sound standards for membership in the new profession, exclude such managers, or set them apart as being not quite the real thing?

Again, what is a "city?" Shall the future manager of Podunk (pop. 900) stand on a professional parity with the future city manager of Boston?

Here's another teaser. Some commission manager charters require the manager to be chosen from among local talent. This provision denies the existence of the profession and in effect insists that the manager must be an amateur. City managers chosen under that provincial limitation will not in the long run be an ornament to the profession. Shall such a city be encouraged to believe that it has the whole genuine modern plan of government?

The City Managers' Association has already adopted a definition of city manager and admits to its membership "any one who is the administrative head of the city appointed by its legislative body." At the present stage of development this rather easy-going definition is acceptable, for of course there are so few city managers in the country at present that it would be difficult otherwise to make up a satisfactory membership list. However, it seems to me that a stricter standard will eventually be necessary and I offer the following unasked fatherly advice to the city managers:

The association should co-operate in every possible way to insure the success and fullest development of the true commission-manager form of

government. They can do this very effectively and inexpensively by the simple expedient of refusing to grant full membership and full rights to any city managers except those who are really managing real cities under charters which give full opportunity for the success of this form of government as well as for the success of city managers who must work there.

I suggest the following membership principles:

I. Full membership: Any person of good repute is eligible for election to full membership in the City Managers' Association who has been for two years an appointive chief executive of a municipal government, under an approved charter.

An approved charter must provide substantially,

(1) That all the powers of the city shall be reposed in a single elective governing body;

(2) Said governing body shall select and direct the city manager;(3) The city manager shall not be required to be a local resident at the time of his selection;

(4) The city manager shall be chief executive of the municipal administration with appointive power over all city departments.

A member meeting the above requirements shall be styled

"Member of the City Managers' Association," Class A, B or C, 1910

Class A, Managers of cities of 100,000 pop. and over (50 cities).

Class B, Managers of cities of 30,000 pop. to 100,000 (119 cities).

Class C, Managers of cities of 8,000 pop. to 30,000.

II. Associate membership: All other city managers as per the present broad definition, including the managers of municipalities under 8,000 population, may style themselves "associate members" of the association, Class A, B, C or D, D being the division for towns of less than 8,000.

The two year minimum experience qualification shall be waived until 1920.

The influence of such action on the part of the city managers would be of incalculable value in keeping city charter makers on the right track. It may seem impossible that such a detail is capable of controlling the city charter movement in America, but it is. Even the mere statement of the Short Ballot Organization that such-and-such a proposed provision in a city charter would exclude the city from our official list of commission-governed or commission-manager cities, is often enough to kill off undesirable modifications. Nothing is juicier meat for the local opposition than to be able to say that the writers of the proposed charter have erred so grievously that vonder national organization refuses to grant it recognition as a commission charter at all. To the charter revision commission that ignorantly, or for political reasons, attempts to emasculate the commission-manager plan, we would like to be able to say—"your freak scheme is so unsound and so far afield from the principles of this modern idea that your city manager will not even be eligible for full membership in the city managers' association." It would work like magic; and it would do wonders to bulwark the fundamental necessities of the new profession.

To insist that managers must have appointive power over all the administrative departments does not exclude managers in cities where the charter excepts a few odd minor officers from the manager's control such as corporation counsel, city clerk, assessors or police judge, for these officers are not necessarily integral parts of the administrative establishment. The provision does, however, prevent some future city from hiring a manager of ten years' experience from another city and finding that he knows nothing of police problems. Such situations would tend to bring the professional managers into disrepute.

Dividing the managers into classes looks far forward to the time when they will naturally separate themselves into appropriate groups for discussing common technical problems. It may seem too early to do this now. I am afraid it is too late. It will require some anguish for the manager of a breezy little western tank town to say "aye" on a motion that relegates him to "associate member Class D," for the good of the profession!

To require that a manager must be of good personal repute gives the association the power to exclude or expel a manager who has been involved in scandal.

PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

A city manager who does not frequently know better than the people of the town or the commissioners what is good for them is a pretty poor city manager, but the people may not want what is good for them and it is not the city manager's business to jam it down their throats. No doubt there are towns where on a clear cut referendum the electorate would be likely to vote that all administrative offices, large or small, must be held by Republicans. The city manager knows better, but should he appoint a Democrat? How is he to determine whether or not he may venture to do it? The charter provides a guide for him. If a certain five or seven local citizens who have been elected for that very purpose of serving as fair samples of the ignorance and prejudices of the town, permit him to appoint a Democrat and will take the responsibility, then and not otherwise he may go ahead and do so.

The city manager is not called in to reform the city—that is the work for its citizens. He is called in to give as good an administration as he can persuade the commission to stand for. He may yearn to go further, to give them single tax, or strict law enforcement, a closed and dry Sunday, an efficient full rate assessment system, a non-political set of appointments, a less gaudy lighting of Main street, or a wholesome water supply,

but if he cannot make these things seem worth while to the commissioners, he must stay his hand and bide his time.

He is the servant of the people first and always, but he has no authority to seek or interpret orders from the people direct—only through the commission. Suppose in his opinion the commission distorts those orders and instructs him to act counter to the popular wish? Is it his job to obey, provided no moral turpitude or deception is involved?

Take the case of R. C. Horne, ex-city manager of Beaufort, S. C. He had a brief dime-novel career there involving risk of his life and his story of his adventures and discoveries in that backward little burg would make a most enlivening contribution to the literature of the commission-manager movement. He undertook to reform the town in spite of the commissioners. Certain features of the tax laws had never been enforced with the result that numerous property owners in the town were, technically at least, heavily in arrears. He took it upon himself to revive these dead letter laws and made a sudden attack upon the leading bank, the president and cashier of which constituted two of his three commissioners, with a policeman, a warrant and a demand for \$10,000 of back taxes. So there was a fight, a recall election and a political upheaval in which he became the popular leader of the so-called Horne forces. Incidentally, of course, he lost his job and was supplanted by another manager of different disposition.

Query—Did Horne do right?

I say it was right enough if he felt like doing it, but quite outside of his profession. If he had been mayor of that town the whole fight would have been within his clear field of duty. But he was not mayor—he was city manager. He stepped out of his profession, just as much as did the local physician and the local lawyer who helped him. He was frankly insubordinate. He took what was for one in his position a disorderly way to rectify a wrong. The orderly way would have been to present a formal proposal to a public meeting of the commission explaining openly and clearly the situation as he saw it. The commission would have to find an excuse for turning him down and would do so. The manager would then have his personal record clear. Unofficially he could privately call the attention of some of the local citizens to the incident and even wink in doing so, thus being personally disloyal, but not officially disloyal, to the commissioners who have no right to expect him to keep secrets for them. If a newspaper asks for an interview, he may officially restate the facts of the case, offering no opinions. Then it is up to local citizens to start something. Such a method is slower and less sensational. In some cases it would be less efficacious, in others more so. At any rate it is. I think, the professional way.

I am not prepared to contend that Mr. Horne's spectacular raid into Beaufort politics did not do Beaufort lots of good, nor do I contend that

any less spectacular method could have succeeded, I only contend that it does not furnish a sound precedent for the profession.

Here is another case—Phoenix, Arizona. Manager Farrish, I understand, administered the town according to his ideals which were stricter than those of the commissioners. He demanded efficiency and economy of his subordinates and removed some politicians from the city service. The commission said "have a heart," but he kept going. He lost his job and the town was much wrought up about it for a time.

My theory of what should have been done in this case is this: When Manager Farrish had been given reason to think that his energy in kicking out politicians from the municipal service was distasteful to his superiors, he should have brought up the next case at the next public commission meeting saying "Mr. John Republican, superintendent of the water works, does not report for duty on Mondays, takes a great deal of time off during the week, neglects his inspection of the reservoirs, and continued admonition has been ineffective. I feel that the good of the service requires his removal and unless the commission objects, I will put in a new man there."

That brings it out in the open. If the commission wants to take the responsibility of standing up for Mr. John Republican, let it do so. It is the best judge of what the people of the town will like. If the commission openly insists on "having a heart," it is quite likely that the people in the town who consider such a thing outrageous will be found to be a minority. The manager, of course, could have simply removed John Republican, knowing that it would make the commissioners mad even if they did not dare say anything publicly about it—I take it that that is about what Farrish did do—but thereby the manager exceeds his true function. It may be very possible that the people, like the commissioners, are more interested in the sad fate of bibulous, glad-handed John Republican out of a good job with six pretty children dependent upon him, than in the dainty curved line with which the manager indicates the decreased cost per thousand gallons of water.

It is not the city manager's function to govern, but only to administer. The occasional manager who favors fixed definite tenure and power to defy the commission fails to comprehend the higher aspects of his job. It is not his function to blow into town and immediately implant in city hall all the ideals of the bureau of municipal research from which he graduated. Friends of this plan of government often seem to expect exactly that. His function is only to give as good an administration as the commission will take responsibility for. In a town that elects a machine-controlled bunch of political puppets, the manager must go slow and cautiously and be content with getting ready to do very much better as soon as the town is in a mood to elect a better commission.

Good government that comes to a town, unasked and unwelcomed, will be unstable and transitory. Reform that endures must be built up laboriously, piece by piece, upon a firm basis of popular sympathy and consent.

An Answer to Mr. Child's Paper

BY HENRY M. WAITE

City Manager of Dayton and President of the City Managers' Associations

It is necessary to accept the first part of Mr. Childs's paper as a criticism. Before criticism can be considered constructive, certain principles must first be established. Failing to observe any principles established as to standards and ethics in the city manager profession, I take the liberty of setting forth a few which are generally accepted.

The city manager form of municipal government is considered the nearest approach to the ideal form yet established. We can well afford to establish this principle, as the most ideal organization. The National Municipal League, is writing a charter on that basis.

It will be agreed that cities will be governed precisely as well as the citizens deserve and desire; that successful government must have the continued support of the majority of the citizenship; that the large majority of the citizenship must eliminate partisan politics from municipal affairs; that there must be a clear line of demarcation between legislative and administrative authority; that good government can advance and improve only so far as the majority of the citizenship is able to appreciate and understand it.

Therefore, the ideal government can be approached as nearly as the majority of the people are able to appreciate and understand it.

There are various grades of city managers, as there are various grades to theorists. This will always be true. Much that can be said in a sarcastic vein will lead away a great many people from the real issues, and and is dangerous. The city managers have adopted a definition, which, for the present, meets all necessary requirements: "Any person who is, or has been, the administrative head of a municipality, appointed by its legislative body, is eligible for membership." The lines are broad, and must be at first, or there would not be any membership in the association. Theorists alone cannot establish successful results.

The city managers took the opportunity of convening at the same time as the National Municipal League for guidance and information. Not one of the theorists attended the city managers' convention. Practically all of the city managers are present at the National Municipal League convention. Comparisons are obvious.

I sincerely regret that Mr. Childs did not take advantage of the meeting that was held by the city managers on Tuesday afternoon. If he had

done so it would have been soon demonstrated to his entire satisfaction, the wonderful success that is being attained by city managers with varying authorities, under varying charters and under varying local conditions. This meeting was given up to five minute talks and each city manager gave the high points of his accomplishments. The representatives were of varying personalities, and have had various experiences from engineers to county clerks and to the president of a baseball league. Yet every one of them proved that with an earnest desire to accomplish results, coupled with application and sincerity, all reinforced by common horse sense, that they have accomplished practically uniform results. Any city manager, to be a success, must of course use common sense in his dealings both with the commission and with the public.

Mr. Childs absolutely confuses legislative and administrative functions through his paper. The City Managers' Association adopted the following: "Communities that, for any reason, cannot give broad authority to the executive are not ready for the ideal and should accept a more modified centralized authority, and not call it a city manager form."

A man accepting a position as city manager must govern himself in accordance with the charter under which he works.

If a commission assumes the administrative functions and designates that a certain man shall be appointed under the administrator, it becomes a question of the personality of the city manager as to whether he desires to retain the position under such circumstances or not. Personally, I think very few would; I should hope that none would. On the other hand, those in the performance of the administrative functions of the city should not insist on legislative enactments over which he has not, and should not have, any control other than in the way of a suggestion. City managers should work with their council or commission the same as an executive works with his board of directors. With the right disposition on the part of both much can be accomplished and there is no reason for a confusion of the responsibilities.

Mr. Childs mentions John Republican. If John Republican or Bill Democrat is brought up between the commission and the administrative head, partisan politics have not been eliminated from your city government, and such a city is not entitled to have a commission manager form of government, because it has demonstrated that it has accepted an ideal that is beyond the understanding and appreciation of its citizenship.

In any business (and the same applies to the commission manager form of cities) when the legislative body assumes the administrative duties over the head of the administrator it is time for the administrator to retire, good business and good results demand it. Personally, if such a condition arose, as used by Mr. Childs as an example, the city manager of Dayton would retire.

A great deal of the difficulty to-day in drawing charters is due to the fact that there has not been an accepted form. The National Municipal League is now drafting a charter on the city manager principle and we would urge all haste in getting this out as soon as possible, or in getting out parts of it as completed, as a guidance.

Much more can be accomplished in getting out such a model charter under such auspices than by haranguing in meetings over minor details that are of no ultimate consequence and liable to confuse the public mind as to the success of the principle of city manager form of government, and this is particularly true when such criticisms are promulgated by people who can only approach it from a theoretical side. It may be true, at some future time, that it will be advisable to divide the city managers' association into two classes. At the present time we do not think that it is.

Mr. Childs uses the village Podunk of 900 population. If Mr. Childs could have taken the opportunity to gain some practical knowledge by attending the city managers' convention, particularly Tuesday afternoon's session, he would have been impressed with the fact that the Podunk managers (using the term as I presume he intends to imply to the city managers of the smaller communities) are accomplishing the best results under the greatest difficulties, as in Podunk the city manager is everything. The Podunks draw men not having wide experience, and yet every one of them is accomplishing definite and progressive results.

To obtain the best results from any association it is necessary to broaden your field as much as possible. It would be just as fair to put a limit on the intelligence and experience of the theorists, who may join the National Municipal League, as it would be to put a limit on members of the City Managers' Association.

The association is for the benefit of all of those who are struggling to make the practical application of the profession a success, and it can do the most good by giving the experience of the larger communities to the smaller communities, and I assure you that we have found in the larger communities that we have much to learn from the experience of the smaller communities. It is undoubtedly true that the city managers should not take their authority from the people, only from the commission.

As to the personality of a certain city manager which Mr. Childs has taken the trouble to go into, I will have nothing to say as there are those present who are more qualified to answer than I am, as we have one man here who is the successor of Mr. Horne at Beaufort. If any community elects, as Mr. Childs suggests, a machine controlled bunch of political puppets, I sincerely trust that such a commission may not be able to get anyone to accept the position of city manager.

The Discussion¹

Mr. Gaylord C. Cummin, City Manager of Jackson, Michigan: My views coincide entirely with those of Mr. Waite. I do not see how it is possible to set up any such standards as Mr. Childs has proposed; indeed, I cannot even sympathize with his point of view as to ethics. I think that at least one of the city managers, whose course he criticized, did exactly right. Some of the unasked advice of these theorists appears to us practical men as little more than bosh.

Charles E. Ashburner, city manager of Springfield, O., when he left Dayton yesterday to go to Springfield, the secretary announced, fully expected to be back so as to participate in the discussion, but found such an accumulation of duties before him in Springfield on his return that he was obliged to send me the following telegram:

Springfield, Ohio, November 18, 1915.

Mr. CLINTON RODGERS WOODRUFF, National Municipal League, Miami Hotel, Dayton, Ohio.

I sincerely regret my inability to participate in tonight's program on account of the accumulated work during my absence from the city. I might suggest that my ideas of the standards for the new profession of City Manager are: The manager should be a man of unquestionable integrity, should above all things be practical rather than theoretical. A manager should be a man who will let his actions speak for him rather than his words. He should be a man who would give his entire energy to the work before him rather than be always looking for another job and bigger money for himself. He should be democratic rather than autocratic, and fearless when he believes he is right.

CHAS. E. ASHBURNER, City Manager.

CLINTON RODGERS WOODRUFF: I have been very much impressed while I have listened to the debates which have been going on, not only in this room, but in the committees and in the corridors, where some of the most interesting discussions are had by men who are very serious in their purpose—I have been impressed with this thought, that the profession of city manager is very much further along than some of us expected, a year ago, would be possible at this time. It is due to the splendid work which these men have been accomplishing in the very short time they have been at work, some of them under circumstances discouraging in the extreme.

I have been impressed with another fact, and that is the general good character of the work. Here we have two city managers who have gone out from Dayton to do effective work elsewhere; we also have the secretary of the large and effective Women's city club of Cincinnati, a product of what I might call, at the risk of being deemed facetious, the Dayton University. The men who are engaged as city managers to-day are slowly building up standards for their professions. Those of you who are thinking of criticizing Mr. Childs' paper must bear in mind that the reply of Mr. Waite was almost equally facetious. Some of the finest notes of this week of conventions have been struck by the city managers who have but recently come into this work of governing our cities, upon higher and more ambitious lines. The note of democracy has been struck, and with no uncertain sound, by men who have gained their inspiration at first hand, in very difficult situations. It is no new thing to hear that note struck in the National Municipal League; it has been the dominant note very nearly from the beginning, certainly from the time the League began to find itself; but it is significant that in the new order of things the city managers, fresh from the difficulties of actually administering the affairs of American cities, should feel the same as men who have been working at the problem for many years. It may be true, as

¹As reported in condensed form by Ferdinand H. Graser, of Philadelphia, who acted as assistant secretary of the meeting.—Editor.

Manager Waite has said, that many of the members of the National Municipal League are theorists, but you will find in the personnel of this organization a great many men who have done actual fighting upon the firing line, under difficult circumstances. It is also a significant thing that the city managers have met here in the same city with the League, and that they have approached this problem from almost identical bases, and the two are working together in a very effective way.

I had hoped that we might discuss tonight with these same speakers—and I trust that the opportunity will come sooner or later, preferably sooner—this question, "What should be the concept of city government in our cities?" For many of our publicists and theorists, and even city managers themselves, feel that when the city manager is inaugurated in a city, that the municipal problem is solved. We must bear constantly in mind that this is only a good and adequate instrument with which to carry out the work of governing cities, and the larger idea of what constitutes the aim and the end of city government, what problems are to be solved, must still be threshed out in organizations more or less like the National Municipal League, even if we are theorists, for here is where sound theories are needed.

George C. Sikes, of Chicago: I had not intended to take part in this discussion, but I have been moved by what has been said here, and I think I have had sufficient experience to entitle me to speak upon this subject. For twenty years, I have been connected with civic organizations and with legislative bodies, and I think I know something about politics in cities; what can be accomplished, and what cannot be accomplished. I had the privilege of looking over Mr. Childs' paper before it was presented, and it struck me as excellent. 'I think this is just the time to say what he said. It is a little facetious, to be sure, but I am surprised that the paper brought the response that it did. The fact that it did bring that response, is to my mind the indication that we need this discussion right here and now, and we needed to have these suggestions brought out.

Mr. Childs is one of the best friends of the city manager system in the country. He has done more to help bring it about than any person I know of. . Now, Mr. Childs wants to be in a position to make the city manager system go. He has had some experience in politics; he knows what political conditions are, and he wants to get something done. What does it profit to establish a fine system, if the city manager system, after it is established throughout the country, fails to appeal to the people, and then goes down like a lot of ten-pins because city managers take positions which these commissioners cannot defend before the people. If the city managers are taking exception to such remarks as those of Mr. Childs in this place what is going to happen when they get out before the people?

Mr. Waite spoke of Mr. Childs as a theorist. He is not a theorist any more than any of the rest of us. We are all theorists, more or less, in certain subjects, and the city managers just as much as anybody else. As engineers they are entitled to the highest respect, but as politicians they may still have much to learn. I lost a job which I was holding once in order that I might get Bion J. Arnold into office in Chicago. Mr. Arnold was an expert engineer, but in politics he is a theorist, and had it not been for some of the rest of us this would have gotten him into trouble. Mr. Fisher and others who were government experts worked with him and kept things right. Mr. Waite is handling the affairs of Dayton in an excellent way as an engineer but, I take it, he knows enough not to mix politics with engineering, and he lets the commissioners attend to their part of the job. A city manager who cannot maintain in his mind the proper concepts of his relations with his commission and with the people must get out. Unless city managers take the proper view of these things, five years from now there will not be a city manager left in office in the country, or those now in office will be superseded by men who know how to get along with their commissioners. The city manager should help the people get as good government as the commissioners think the people will stand for.

Mr. Cummin: What Mr. Sikes says as to politics represents Mr. Waite's idea and my idea exactly, namely, that politics should not enter into the situation at all. If I was ordered to appoint or ordered to discharge an employe simply because of his politics I would have nothing further to do with the commission and would resign.

OSSIAN E. CARR, City Manager, Cadillac, Mich.: I wish to endorse most heartily what has been said by Brother Waite and Brother Cummin. I would like to inquire just what profit it will be to any municipality to change its charter in order to eliminate politics, and then to go back into the rotten political methods.

MR. HARRISON G. OTIS, City Manager of Beaufort, South Carolina: I am the man from Podunk. If I may be allowed to indulge in child's play I should like to take the stand for the small city in the city manager game, and particularly for that small city which is so handicapped by the state in which it happens to lie as to make it impossible for that small city to have an approved commission manager charter. I am from South Carolina. South Carolina has in its constitution a provision that no city officer shall hold a position in the state of South Carolina unless he has been a citizen for at least two years' residence. Where is your professional city manager, then, if a man cannot come in from another state and hold the position of city manager in the state of South Carolina? We have to contend with a position of delegated powers, and if a man can successfully contend with such a constitution, and develop all the gold that may be developed from a true commission manager city and to put that city on a business basis and get it running along business line, he is deserving of a certain amount of credit. Now whether I be in class D of the third division or not, I maintain that there are more small cities

in this country than there are large, and that the problem of city government as worked out in the small cities is a most vital problem.

I have lived in New York, lived there for several years, and when I suggested to my bureau of municipal research in New York last summer, that I was going to Beaufort, a town of some 3,500 people, I was laughed at, and was told that I could do all the work in two or three weeks; but I assure you most sincerely, that the work of remodeling a small city, putting that city on an up-to-date business plane, in the face of misunderstanding, and doing it so that everyone is satisfied, is "some" problem.

The small city is the laboratory for the development of this city manager idea, and is not to be overlooked. The work I have had to undertake there is work which I could not possibly have had an opportunity to find out about in any large city. I have had to remodel the whole city government, recodify its ordinances, dating back two hundred years, although they were burned up during the War; revamp its accounting system, and so on, and I want to remark that this matter of revision of accounting system of small cities is one that has been overlooked entirely by all theorists and a great many practical men.

Mr. Childs has brought out some very good things in his paper, and I agree with him most heartily as to certain ethical points. The manager certainly is the employe of the council. He certainly should not try to put things across over the head of his council. If the council attempts to do things he cannot stand for, instead of rearing up and pushing them back the best thing he can do, it seems to me, is to get his councilmen one at a time into a corner and show them what is the right thing to do, and then get it done.

When I went to Beaufort, I found the city managership tied up completely into a sort of Gordian knot. They had as city attorney, a man who was a sort of antebellum fossil, who maintained that the city manager should have no power. We

found that every department in the city said it was willing to have a city manager, but didn't want him in its department. So the city manager was without any power and had no standing at all as an officer of the town. Nevertheless, all the power in the city was turned over to me in less than forty-five days' time, although I came in under hostile colors and found a town split into two most hostile factions so that persons who had been friends for years would not speak to each other on the street. It is entirely because of my experience in the city manager game as gained in the theoretical university training at Michigan, I think, that with this application of diplomacy and horse sense, to borrow an expression from both sides of the house, I was able to accomplish the degree of success attained, and it seems to me that we must apply the same principles if the city manager plan is to be a success anywhere.

M. H. HARDIN, City Manager, Amarillo, Texas: I am the man from the water tank way out West, Amarillo, Texas. I fully agree with what Mr. Waite said in regard to the duties of the city manager and his relations with the commission, and I want to express my disagreement with Mr. Childs. I enjoyed his paper, but I happen to be a prime mover in the organization of the City Managers' Association; I sent out the call for that first meeting in Amarillo, Texas, in 1914. I realized that I needed co-operation, I needed to get in touch with other men engaged in similar work, in order that we might compare our experiences, become better acquainted with the situations we might have to meet in this new profession.

I think that the small city should be recognized just as much as the large city, and I fully agree with Mr. Cummin that the man from the small city is having the greatest difficulties by reason of the fact that he is unable to employ high priced help, and in a great many instances has to do all kinds of engineering and accounting work. For that reason a greater burden falls on him. We have to devise our own system of records and accounts and

to put it in operation and in a great many instances have to help to do the work. For that reason I hope that the small city will always be recognized in the City Managers' Association. I appreciate the efforts that the National Municipal League is making to help the city managers in their work, and I believe it is their endeavor to help make our work easier and to support the city manager plan of municipal government.

I think that Mr. Childs' statement was all right at this time. It brought out some points that otherwise we would not have had, and I appreciated it. I believe it will have a good effect.

Professor A. R. Hatton of Cleveland, pointed out that politics could not be eliminated from the city government, if by politics is meant the agency by which people of different opinions express their opinions in matters of government. He stated that the will of the people must be carried out by the city manager whether he believes in the principles expressed or not. We shall always have people grouping themselves along local lines, and thus dividing into political parties; but these need not and should not be confused with division into national parties upon national issues.

MR. FOULKE: I would like to ask a question of some of the managers. There is a problem now up, suggested by the civil service commissioners, proposing a new civil service law, and I want to see how it would strike the city managers, and how it would operate in manager governed cities. The proposition is to appoint a state civil service commission, by competitive methods. The governor is to select a special examining board, composed of three persons, first a member of some civil service commission, or examiner or secretary of a commission; second, a man who has been for at least two years engaged in employing men for some kind of professional or technical service; and third, a judge of a court of record. This board is to hold a competitive examination among applicants for the position of civil service commissioner,

and is to appoint the highest upon the list. The man who is so appointed is to hold office by an indeterminate tenure, and can only be removed upon charges of misfeasance, or gross negligence, or conduct bringing scandal upon his office, after trial before a board composed of two nisi prius judges, and a third man appointed by these judges. This state civil service commissioner is to appoint by similar competitive examinations the commissioners for the cities, these commissioners holding upon the same tenure, and this state commissioner is to have entire charge practically of the whole state service, and the city commissioner practical charge of the city service, in the matter of promotions, transfers, removals, The power that has been exercised by the city manager in the right to dismiss subordinates would under this law be changed so that no subordinate could be dismissed except by filing charges with the city civil service commissioner. That commissioner, once appointed in this manner, is to have the entire and exclusive control of all the civil service of the city.

HORNELL HART, Milwaukee: May I ask also as part of the same question, whether the city managers think that civil service reform is necessary at all under a city manager, properly installed?

Mr. Watte: There must be for some years to come some sort of civil service protection. That protection should be in the appointing power. It is a great help many times, in the selection of men, to have a civil service board of such character that good men can be turned into the service. In Dayton, we have called upon the civil service board to hold competitive examinations for positions which are not inside the civil service regulations at all.

But if you are going to look to an executive for results, he must have and should have the power of dismissal. You can strengthen the power of your government by giving this authority to an executive, who is building on a basis of efficiency and who stands on a record of

efficiency. To curtail an executive in his management of the affairs of the city, by saying to him that he cannot dismiss his subordinates absolutely, is the beginning of the end of efficiency in that organization.

I cannot see how any man could tie himself up to an organization over which he had no control, so that he might not say to a man, regardless of how insubordinate he may be, how inefficient, that he would have to leave the service. You are not giving your executive an opportunity to carry on the affairs of the government in an efficient manner, and you cannot get efficiency if you do not have control of your organization.

Mr. Cummin: I can strengthen what has been said by Mr. Waite, by calling attention to one easily conceived condition which might arise when the power of dismissal is withheld, for that is what it practically means if you are obliged to get a hearing before a civil service commission on charges. Anyone who has ever handled bodies of men knows that the most dangerous man in an organization is very often the man who is not frankly insubordinate, who is not inefficient in the way that you can put your finger on him, yet he is absolutely dangerous in small things, for in ways that you cannot definitely locate he is disrupting your organization. It is worse than if you had a most inefficient man, because you can take such a man before the Civil Service Commission that he is insubordinate or inefficient or anything else. I do not see how you can get efficiency unless the power of dismissal is left with the executive.

As far as the other question is concerned, the more efficient the civil service board is in securing good men, I think the better the city manager would be pleased.

Mr. Hardin: I fully believe that every city manager we now have in this country is only too glad to secure the very best men that can be secured, and he is only too anxious to get rid of any dead wood he may have about his office force. The wise method, of course, of getting rid of the man who is useless is to have the

power of dismissal; hence, if the manager is fully satisfied that the person is worthy of dismissal, he should get rid of him. Sometimes it is very difficult to prove charges. You know, we are very often fully satisfied that certain crimes have been committed, and that a certain individual has committed the crime, and yet it is extremely hard to make out such a case as would convict that man. The same condition will arise in an executive or administrative office.

Mr. Foulke: Mr. Childs is now entitled to the last word.

Mr. Childs: When the subject was originally selected for this evening, another topic was chosen but I thought I could start a much better scrap on another subject. Accordingly, my instructions were to go ahead and get up a dog fight if I could, but I did not expect to be the bone!

A great deal has been said about theorists this evening. I am, frankly and absolutely, a theorist, and am proud of it. You know, the chief difference between a theorist and a practical man is that the theorist knows just where he wants to go, but has no facilities for getting there. The practical man gets there,—and finds he is in the wrong place. I suppose some of you city managers, who have just picked your way out of the shell and looked out upon the world and thought you discovered America, considered it rather an assumption for me to offer all this practical fatherly advice; but while the number of years involved are few, I want to have you know, without seeming to claim glory, that I was sawing wood on the commission manager plan years before any of you ever heard of it. The first city manager charter was drawn in my office, under my direction, and was peddled around to various cities, and was finally sold to the Lockport chamber of commerce and became known as the Lockport plan for a time. Some three or four years ago, at the Richmond meeting, this Lockport plan was the subject of discussion by one of our committees. Then Sumter, South Carolina, adopted it, and it became known for a while as the Sumter plan, but it was nothing more than what had been brought out originally as the Lockport plan. Accordingly, I hope I may be pardoned if I seem to act a little bit like an old hen with ducks when I consider where these plans are going to.

I did not mean to sneer in the least when I talked about Podunk. The small town, with a population under 8,000, is certainly important, for the people who live in those towns are the bulk of our population and the hope of democracy, and in that field there lies probably a more difficult and bigger work for social service on the part of city managers than in the larger cities. In the big cities the duties of the executives are more or less of the corporation type. On the human side, these smaller jobs are the big jobs, and the suggestion of calling the men from the smaller towns class A and the men from the large cities, class D, suits me perfectly. I did not mean to sneer at them. If I was so interpreted I am sorry.

There are a great many people, and some of them are city managers, who think that the city manager ought to have a definite status and a protected tenure in other ways, so that he could, if he wanted to, "sass back" at the commission over him. I want to say again that such a man has not the proper conception of his job. He is not at all in the same position that he would be as manager of a private corporation. He is dealing in this case with democracy. He is the agent of a commission which has been chosen by the people, and the very fact that there are conflicts shows that there are some city managers who do not realize that they are the agent of a community, not of a corporation. The manager should not assume to set up his own standard. That is what makes the job a big job and a useful job; and I am glad to see that most of the city managers see that and feel that; glad to see that they realize that democracy comes first, efficiency and economy second; that their function is to carry out the popular will as it is expressed to them, not to seek to oppose or to control the current of public opinion.

LIEUT. SHAW, Norfolk, Va.: I should like to ask Mr. Childs this one question. He spoke of those little cities of 8,000 as constituting the hope of democracy. Is it not the fact that the germ idea of the city manager plan came from one of those little towns about three years before the Lockport plan was evolved?

MR. CHILDS: The idea of the city manager, not the idea of the commission

manager plan, came from Staunton, Virginia.

LIEUT. SHAW: I merely wanted to get that little act of justice for Staunton, Virginia.

Mr. Chilles: I was the minister who performed the marriage ceremony between the city manager plan as first thought of in Staunton, and the commission plan in Des Moines.

THE BLANKENBURG ADMINISTRATION IN PHILADELPHIA: A SYMPOSIUM ¹

BY CHARLES FRANCIS JENKINS

Philadelphia

HERE never has been in Philadelphia, since William Penn handed over the charter to the city of his heart (the city named before it was born), an equal four years of growth and of civic uplift than during the Blankenburg administration which has just gone out of office.

It is not desired to dwell on the millions in money which have been saved by an administration free from graft, and administered by business men in a business way;

¹ No more difficult task rests upon the shoulders of the editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW than to secure a thoughtful and discriminating appraisal of a particular city administration. As a rule the subject is approached from the point of view of a partisan or of a critic. Now and then an impartial observer may be found, but the result is all too often a colorless account of events. This task has been particularly difficult with regard to the Blankenburg administration. His advocates are the strongest partisans and his opponents the bitterest of critics. The truth no doubt lies somewhere between.

That the Blankenburg administration has established in many directions new standards which will continue there is no doubt in the mind of any reasonable observer. That the administration fell short of its possibilities is equally true. In order to give the readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW as comprehensive an appraisement of the situation as possible, he is printing three articles. One is an address by Mr. Jenkins, an ardent supporter of the administration. The address was delivered at a meeting where all the members of the administration were present. He is reproducing an editorial from the Philadelphia North American of January 3, 1916, representing the point of view of those who were among the earliest and strongest advocates of Mr. Blankenburg's nomination and election. On two previous occasions editorials from the North American have been quoted in the department of Notes and Events (See National MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 114, vol. iii, p. 149) as representing the point of view of those who were disappointed in the results. The third article reproduced is a special article from the Evening Bulletin of December 30, 1915, written by William Perrine, the editor, under his pseudonym of "Penn." Mr. Perrine has been actively identified with Philadelphia newspapers for upwards of forty years, and has been in close touch with developments in the city. His point of view is that of one who is neither an opponent nor a critic, but a stander-by who wishes to see just what has been accomplished and just what has been omitted.

These three articles in a way supplement each other and will give to the reader a fairly comprehensive survey of the situation. Perhaps the best tribute which has thus far been paid to the Blankenburg administration is the number of its chiefs of bureaus who have been retained by the new administration.

See also articles on "The Blankenburg Administration," by T. Henry Walnut, Vol. i, p. 435, and "Taxation in Philadelphia," by Louis F. Post, Vol. ii, p. 57.—Editor, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

\$733,000 saved in garbage contracts,—

\$970,000 reduced operating expenses in the water department,—

\$88,000 saved in coal bills,—

\$50,000 saved in purchasing milk,—

on down to a few dollars here and there by better methods and honest buying and spending. It may be said at once and without fear of contradiction, that a full \$5,000,000 have been saved to the city in operating expenses. This has been the least of the administration's accomplishments, and five years from now this money side of it will probably be forgotten.

There are three great physical accomplishments that are memorable in their character and epoch making in their effect on the physical character of the city.

By the South Philadelphia railroad agreement, with its attendant abolition of grade crossings, an additional area equal to the original city is now made available for homes and factories, for wharves and terminals. Never before had any agency brought the heads of all the great railroads serving the city into a conference in which they were citizens first and railroad men afterward. And the reason they continued in the delicate, long drawn out and sometimes nearly broken negotiations was because they had confidence in the mayor and his counselors, and because they were being asked only for a square deal for the city, and for their companies as well.

What administration would not be proud to have given the city the comprehensive rapid transit plan, which will directly benefit every citizen no matter where he lives; and we, on the outside, cannot appreciate the thousand and one moves involved in carrying through this gigantic engineering project. New acts of the legislature, ordinances of councils, legal obstacles, great physical engineering and financial problems, all have apparently been satisfactorily solved.

The third great undertaking was the getting underway of the development of the port of Philadelphia that our foreign and coast wide commerce might have room to breathe. This work had been started by previous administrations, but nothing done. Philadelphia will yet be one of the important ports of the country, the Hon. Charles Seger to the contrary notwithstanding. Go down and see some of those giant piers and take an added pride in Philadelphia and in the outgoing administration.

These three undertakings, all of which must extend into the future for their full development, if carried through on the broad lines of their inception, will be enduring monuments of the administration of Rudolph Blankenburg. And when to such undertakings as these can be added scores of almost equally important steps forward, is it any wonder thinking people say, "Good work" and "Well done"?

Were our streets and roads ever better paved and cared for?—is it nothing that the city hall is clean and at less cost?—what of the water,

purer than most of that sold in bottles to unwary customers? And there is all you want of it at less cost, because the leaks have been found and fixed. Need you be reminded that every gas lamp has a Welsbach mantle with twice the illumination at no cost to the city? Have you noticed the beautiful bridges over our streets, replacing the homely iron girders? Are not your garbage and ashes collected more promptly and with less scattered dirt, after it is done? Delaware Avenue has been widened. The greatest landscape artists in the world have replanned the Southern Boulevard, the Plaza and League Island Park. And as a sample of the many little accomplishments which betoken good management, the unnecessary fences around reservoirs have gone, saving hundreds of dollars in their care and upkeep.

But it is probably not these visible things which will, in the long run, clearly set aside the Blankenburg administration from any and particularly those which immediately preceded it. It is its dealings with men, not things, which will be the more enduring.

Over the portal of the Convention Hall some philosopher of the present administration had placed this motto: "Where there is no vision, the people perish"; and it is in the understanding of the underlying principles, and sympathy with the problems of the people, that the mayor and his devoted assistants have done their best.

The mayor, himself, has said that the greatest single change effected by the administration was the status of the individual employe,—his emancipation from the galling yoke of the political gangster. Free men can hardly imagine the condition of servitude in which every office holder lived prior to this administration. Compelled to live in certain divisions, where his political services would be most useful, forbidden to move without permission, assessed for political funds, the disbursement of a large part of which was never accounted for, he was made to serve the bosses rather than the dictates of his judgment or conscience. It is true we had a law on our statute books forbidding all this, but it was a dead letter from the day it was passed in 1906 until Rudolph Blankenburg's administration enforced it. Instead of a cringing, fawning set of office holders driven to pull door bells and perform many a mean and odious task for the bosses, within two years the city departments were alive with alert, clean, interested young men, who instead of sauntering in at 10 o'clock were on the job at 9, and worked until five, like most of the rest of us have to do. And many young women found places, where they could be truly helpful and retain their self-respect.

Just as Rudolph Blankenburg selected the best men he could find for his important cabinet officers, so did these in time get the greatest experts they could find, no matter from where they came. The one poor, lone engineer in the highway bureau, when this administration went in, grew to 180 or more, when the highway job became an engineering and not a

political one. The civil service commission worked overtime to supply the best men that could be found, their lists were not juggled and every citizen who wanted to work for the city could do so if he had the qualifications. This was the only basis for appointments.

Employes who had never known a regular holiday had one planned for them, like civilized citizens and those who had worked seven days a week were cut down to six, as Christians should be. The weary police who had tramped the streets twelve hours a day were given eight.

And then the administration branched out in lines where it was never dreamed the city might take an intelligent interest—in the real welfare of its stockholders.

To make the bringing of produce easier and help reduce its cost, trolley freight lines, and new stations for them, were planned. And because a great war came with industrial depression, the administration set about to study unemployment and a *Philadelphia society to study employment problems* was established. Because the police had not been encouraged to "butt in" in any matter which might bring embarrassment to the division or ward boss, efforts were made to make them more alert, a training school was established for them and for the firemen. A police band was organized which not only added to the *esprit de corps*, but earned \$50,000 for the police pension fund.

Because it was known that Wisconsin in many ways was ahead of some of its sister states in the service it was rendering to its people through its great university, the administration fathered an excursion of a hundred or more experts along different lines who went out to Madison and spent several days in studying the "whys" and "hows." This excursion and its attendant return visit from the Wisconsin University officials, was not without effect on some of our large educational institutions, in creating in them a more ardent desire to get nearer the people and supply them their needs.

Because it was recognized that the utility problems of all our municipalities were alike, Mayor Blankenburg called a conference of American mayors and municipal officials, which conference was successfully carried through and resulted in the formation of the utilities bureau for giving expert advice to cities and towns that may need it and not know where to find it. This promises to be one of the great civic landmarks of this administration.

The great Overbrook freight yard, through the gentle insistence of the city and the co-operation of the Pennsylvania Railroad, is to be electrified and the attendant smoke nuisance thus eliminated.

Contracts are now drawn by the departments so they are understandable, enforcible and fair, and when executed they are inspected by those who serve the city and not the contractors. Outside bidders are now willing to bid. The building code has been revised; the death rate

reduced. A spirit of co-operation and helpfulness has been fostered by bringing together the city employes in social gatherings, in schools for instruction and in other helpful ways.

Even such minor matters as increasing the quality of music furnished by the municipal band, and of starting singing on the city hall plaza with as many as six thousand voices joined, have not been too small to occupy those who were really interested in helping Philadelphia citizens as being the better part of Philadelphia as a corporation.

All this has been accomplished despite the hostile efforts of an unfriendly and unwilling council which endeavored to thwart every important move; and despite, in the early days, the disloyalty of many subordinates.

Is it any wonder, then, that in the face of such a record it was with a feeling of consternation and amazement that we awakened the day after election to find that the voters of Philadelphia had set aside an administration that had done so much for them? Did the people prefer graft and contractors' rule and the old ways? Did they not approve of efficiency and economy and good order and honesty?

It is difficult to explain it. We know that the great movements are slow movements, and if an opinion was ventured as to why we were defeated, it was that we had moved too fast, done too much, struck out in too many new ways, to please the great body of the people. There was too much that was beyond their ken. Municipal progress must now halt and wait for them to catch up, wait until the vision comes to them.

Level roads are always uninteresting, and as we go down a hill and along a valley and climb the other side and look backward over ridge after ridge of progress, and forward over difficulties yet to be overcome, we have the most happiness out of our journey. It is a trite saying that the human race has progressed, not in a steady continuous movement, but like one of our big Broad street processions that halts at intervals to let the street cars get through. It is the natural trend of the people to be settled, but as the sage remarks, only so far as they are unsettled is there any hope for them. Tennyson expresses it exactly:

"Evolution ever climbing after some ideal good,
And Reversion ever dragging Evolution in the mud.
Forward, backward, backward, forward, in the immeasurable sea,
Swayed by vaster ebbs and flows than can be known to you or me."

Taking this philosophical view of the result of the election, we know that municipal affairs can never be as bad as they were, simply because the great mass of the people will not stand for it. They may not want to go forward as fast as we would like them to, but give them time and they will catch up with a broader vision. It is an aphorism that we cannot stand still; we must either go forward and grow or stand still and die.

There is not a Philadelphian, and surely not our out-going officials, who does not hope that the incoming administration may do well; and they

will do well when they mark time on the high standards that have been set for them, and they will fail if they depart far from them. Let them break down the bars of the civil service, let them again enslave the office holders, let them get their feet in the feed trough of public contracts, let them favor the few at the expense of the many and play politics generally as 'gainst an honest business administration, and out they will go. So let us not be critical and carping, but helpful and constructive, hoping for the best and expecting the best until we see to the contrary.

The first newspaper news of the weeks in November after the election were disquieting to a well wisher of the city. The situation brought to mind an incident of years ago. When the writer was a boy and lived on a farm, his great desire was to own a pair of overalls. At the country store they kept a brand that had a wonderful trademark of two elephants, one pulling on each leg of a pair of overalls, to the limit of their strength, to show the quality of the stuff, and particularly the strong sewing in the seat seam. And so the situation seemed to me in this day; the two big contractor Republican (?) political bosses were well represented by the elephants, poor old Philadelphia by the overalls. When the fabric gave way each would get a leg, and all that would be left for all the rest of us would be a scrap of the seat as big as your hand. However, the trend of the last few days gives some hope that all the good work of the past four years will not be undone. It must be with a note of optimism, a willingness to speak a good word, a desire to help that we view the immediate civic horizon.

And now a few words for the men who have performed this yeoman service in the way of civic regeneration.

To Cyrus D. Foss, Jr., who has made a real sacrifice to help the Mayor as private secretary; to Director Loeb of the department of supplies, who filled one of the less obtrusive but important parts with fidelity and absolute honesty; to Directors Ziegler and Meigs of the health and docks departments respectively; to that human dynamo, A. Merritt Taylor of the department of transit; to that patriotic diplomat and financier, George W. Norris, whose guiding hand has smoothed many rough places in the last four years; to our efficient, dependable Robert D. Dripps, ever ready to step in the breach where a level headed, well balanced man is wanted—to all of them, the warmest, heartiest thanks of the people of Philadelphia go out as they close their official connection with the city.

No man has grown more in public office, or made the office grow with him, than the director of public works, Morris Llewellyn Cooke. He has made many of his subordinates and associates take seven league strides trying to keep up with him. He has met every demand that would naturally be made upon him, and then has looked around for other openings for his activities. Many of us feel there is now no civic job in the whole country too big for him to tackle. And through it all, has been his

guiding star of absolute justice to all. It is violating no confidence when I say that some of the big and little contractors, since the election, have come to him and thanked him for the "above board" treatment they had received at his hands.²

To George D. Porter, former director of public safety and late candidate for mayor, who is loved best by those who know him best, our good wishes go out to-night. We should have liked to have seen him mayor of the city to carry forward the good work of the past four years, for this we know he would have done. He has the confidence and the warm affection of his fellow townsmen, he has come through, unscathed, a big man's task—at every turn he was "on the job." He is a young man yet and if there comes a time when we have a chance to show our confidence in him, he will be ever ready to respond to the call of duty.

With Rudolph Blankenburg, who has returned to private life, goes the love and esteem of a grateful city. If there are any who do not wish him well, Philadelphia does not know it; but if by any chance there should be any, we say, as it has often been said before, "We love him for the enemies he has made."

His guiding watchword has ever been "Philadelphia, my city," and it has seemed to many of us, that in his heart, the great city—its aims, its hopes, its struggles and trials—has been to him as a foster child, to be mourned over in its shortcomings, to be proud and happy in its successes and never losing faith in its ultimate regeneration. The very sacrifices he has made for his city have drawn it closer into his heart. Time and time again we have heard from him a renewal of the pledge of devotion, and many of us have hung our heads in shame that we have done so little when he has done so much.

We hope that many years of comfort, peace and quiet enjoyment may be his. We know he cannot be idle, and we know that while life lasts he will not abate one jot or tittle of his care for Philadelphia. And for his official life, for what his administration has done for posterity, we want to record with all the earnestness at our command that he shall feel free to say, as the solemn truth, as did one of the greatest reformers of old: "I have fought a good fight," and above all, "I have kept the faith."

BY THE EDITOR OF THE PHILADELPHIA "NORTH AMERICAN"

With the close of the Blankenburg administration to-day ends a sixteen-year campaign for the political regeneration of Philadelphia. It is worthy of a retrospective glance.

The campaign began soon after Samuel H. Ashbridge took office as mayor, when the true character of his administration was revealed. During this period graft in its coarsest forms became the undisguised

² See National Municipal Review, vol. v, p. 5.

purpose and policy of the city government. Its manifestations ranged from the fortunes taken by officials and contractors down to the most sordid kinds of macing, traffic in private licenses and the theft of children's pennies in policy gambling.

No source of illicit tribute was overlooked. More than two thousand speakeasies flourished under the protection of politicians, yielding vast profits to the promoters and, in return, furnishing legal addresses for 75,000 fictitious names entered on the voting lists. Gamblers operated in perfect security, and paid a specified percentage of their gains to "the front." White slavery during this régime became an organized and protected traffic. The very streets of the city were sold by private treaty to a group of political and financial adventurers. Even from the privations of the helpless paupers of the community graft was extorted to enrich favorites of the ring.

In various forms these abuses flourished almost continuously for twelve years. For sixteen years unremitting warfare was waged against the contractors and politicians responsible for them. During that period many prominent citizens were constantly active in the cause of good government, and a still larger number were spasmodically interested. But the number striving to uproot the criminal system steadily increased, and it was certain that they would eventually overcome the power which was exploiting and disgracing the city.

The zeal with which the *North American* carried on its part in the fight for decent government earned for this newspaper the implacable hostility of the privileged politicians and all the evil forces behind them. The desperate and unflagging opposition of these interests has been a tribute which we have always prized. Only once did we co-operate with representatives of that side. That was when John Weaver, who had been a complacent organization mayor, was moved to rebellion by the attempt to steal the gas works and for a short period checked the operations of the gang.

In the twelve years of the fight preceding his election Rudolph Blankenburg was a conspicuous exponent of reform. For a long time he was regarded by the public with interest rather than with serious attention; but finally his persistent and picturesque denunciations of the city's despoilers touched the imagination of the ever-growing army of revolt against misrule.

He made his greatest impression by the oft-repeated assertion that the mayor of Philadelphia was clothed by the charter with sufficient power to destroy the contractors' combine, and that the election of a reform executive would mean the sweeping away of that evil system. By the time he had convinced the majority of decent citizens on these points they had made up their minds that he was himself the one man qualified for the task.

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After twelve years of incessant warfare against corruption, therefore, during which the grosser forms of election fraud had been eliminated, the demand for decent government prevailed. Mr. Blankenburg was elected mayor.

That was four years ago. He took office with the best wishes of an overwhelming majority of the people of Philadelphia. All those who possessed a shred of civic pride were utterly sick of the long régime of gang graft and incompetence, and welcomed the prospect of a change. Even the contractors and their followers felt almost a sense of relief that a respite had come in their struggle to impose their corrupt rule upon the city.

Four years later, however, the combine had not only rebuilt its shattered power, but had so intrenched itself that it felt secure in openly and defiantly selecting its own candidate for mayor and pitting him against one named by Mayor Blankenburg as the representative of his achievements and policies. How accurately the contractors read the public mind was shown when they elected their man by a crushing plurality.

This result has been a cause of bewilderment to outside observers. Yet a candid statement of the case will show that it was inevitable.

While no one has ever questioned the integrity, the sincerity and the lofty patriotism of Mayor Blankenburg, the restoration of gang rule is directly chargeable to his personal deficiencies in other respects. His inability to cope with the problems of municipal finance created by the sins of former administrations, his lamentable lack of political common sense and his utter incapacity to compel co-operation or even respect from hostile councils, although he possessed tremendous official power—these were the things that broke him down.

His status was a hopeless anomaly. Admired personally for his robust integrity and honest purposes, he was derided, affronted and buffeted by those whom he might have destroyed, because they discerned in him no evidences of administrative force; and he fell into public disesteem as a chosen champion who had shown neither courage nor competence. The disappointment of the people was accentuated and was transformed into downright hostility by his shuffling evasion and final repudiation of his pledge to reduce the price of gas and by his grotesque suggestions for impossible schemes of taxation.

Any one of these things would have been sufficient to account for the collapse of his prestige, but the fundamental cause was his failure even to hamper the contractors' combine, whose destruction he had declared for years would be the simplest task and chief glory of a reform administration.

That was the main issue of his campaign, the burden of his most effective speeches, the foundation of all his pledges. The mayor of Philadelphia, he proclaimed again and again, had power to tear up by the roots the system that had so long injured and disgraced the city, and, if he

were elected, the extermination of that sinister growth would be accomplished without delay.

It was upon this platform that he was elected, and upon this was adjudged an utter failure. Month after month went by, and those who had enthusiastically intrusted him with the power to dislodge the enemies of the city saw their hopes mocked.

Far from suffering defeat, the combine steadily grew more influential and more arrogant. The contractors and their followers found it unnecessary to preserve even the forms of respect for the chief executive of the city. His recommendations to councils were contemptuously ignored or studiously negatived, his vetoes were nullified at will, and his entire program made the sport of the interests which at any time during his first two years in office he might have reduced to wholesome subjection.

These fatal evidences of incapacity may be traced chiefly to defects of character and moral fiber. But a stronger man than he might have been unable to resist the malign influences with which he surrounded himself. From the beginning he selected as his unofficial advisers men who had always been against the principles for which he stood, representatives of big corporations and property interests who had been the beneficiaries of contractor rule. To their subtle guidance may be charged some of his most serious errors and deficiencies.

Aside from these causes of failure, Mayor Blankenburg both suffered and profited by his cabinet appointments.

His chief misstep was in putting a weak and immature figure at the head of the department of public safety—the most influential post in a city administration. And this was magnified into a monumental blunder when he made this man his candidate for the mayoralty as the embodiment of the Blankenburg policies and ideals.

In the department of health he made another failure by retaining a gang appointee, with the inevitable result that this important department lost caste and efficiency. Two successors named were of a far higher type, but they had not the time nor the backing to enable them to accomplish much good.

The director of supplies gave an honest, competent and businesslike administration and saved the city large sums of money. But the futility of it all is shown by the fact that his assistant for two years—the man chiefly responsible for the system he tried to modify—is now head of the department. He has been given that post as a reward for the attacks he made during the recent campaign against the administration which kept him in office for two years after the day he should have been discharged. The mayor was never able to command councilmanic support for supply department changes that would be fundamental and lasting.

Mayor Blankenburg is to be held accountable for departmental failures and deficiencies. On the other hand, the fullest credit must be given to

him for the successes achieved by men of his selection. The three departments with constructive functions performed work of permanent value.

Director Cooke found in the department of public works a system marked by archaic, wasteful and even crooked methods and an utter lack of any comprehensive plans. He revolutionized it from top to bottom and made it a model which other municipalities have found worthy of study. His sole aim was efficiency, and he sought out the best men available for every post at his disposal, bringing some from other cities, despite the outery of job-hunting politicians.

His course was justified by the results he achieved, and it has received a striking vindication in the fact that Mayor Smith has continued in office one of the principal bureau chiefs. But Mr. Cooke's best contribution has been the framing of far-reaching plans and a system of honest specifications which will benefit the city permanently.

In the department of wharves, docks and ferries the work of Director Norris was conspicuously good. He showed that he understood the needs of the port and possessed the vision to build for the future. In co-operation with Director Cooke, he devised a comprehensive policy for the development of the commercial possibilities of South Philadelphia and of the entire river front.

Director Taylor is responsible for the great program of transit, and has started undertakings which insure to the city vitally needed expansion of its transportation facilities.

Collectively, the work of these three departments is enough to make any administration notable. Had it not been for the failure of Mayor Blankenburg to do the one thing for which the people elected him—destroy contractor rule—the record would be a substantial success.

It is well for him that the account is not finally made up according to the judgment of the people to-day. In time, it is to be hoped, his weaknesses and failures will be forgotten, and, as the constructive works begun under his régime are carried on, his part in them will be remembered. And one other noteworthy item will go to his credit. His pledge that his administration would be honest was vigilantly kept.

Aside from these things, the fame of the Blankenburg administration will depend very largely upon the character of that which succeeds it. If Mayor Smith keeps measurably free from evil influences and follows the good policies inaugurated during the last four years, the public will not fail to give credit to his predecessor.

The chief regret must be that a mayor animated by such good intentions and capable of so many praiseworthy performances did not possess the force of character to use the power conferred upon him to free the city once for all from the burden of contractor domination. Had he done so, the cause of good government would have been immeasurably advanced. Because he failed, it has suffered eclipse.

For twelve years the very heart of the fight was the conviction that the one thing necessary to eradicate the evil system was the election of a reform mayor. This was done, but the opportunity was frittered away by feebleness and incompetence. The deplorable fact is that the cause cannot be rebuilt upon the same foundation. The war against misrule will go on, but its most effective means of raising recruits has been destroyed.

BY THE EDITOR OF THE "EVENING BULLETIN," PHILADELPHIA

When Mayor Blankenburg was elected four years ago, he had never held any public office save a place as city commissioner. This he had not sought for; he was urged by his friends to become a candidate for it in order that the city party ticket in the independent campaign of 1905 might be strengthened, and when he completed the term to which he had been elected, he found that the duties had been so light that it did not quite accord with his sense of the fitness of things to pocket the salary; and hence he turned the three years' amount over as a personal donation to the pension funds of the teachers, the firemen and the policemen. Consequently when, at the age of sixty-eight, he went into the mayoralty, his actual experience in public office had been extremely limited. It is true that for more than a generation he had been active as an agitator and critic in municipal affairs, that he had been associated with many movements or undertakings of a civic, philanthropic or patriotic nature and that he had thus come into contact with most of the live and interesting questions that have entered into our local public life since the time of the committee of one hundred and its notable campaign against Mayor Stokley and the gas trust. But until the close of the year 1911, when he had long passed the meridian of his years, he had not shouldered, on any large scale, a single responsibility in the direct administration of public affairs. Up to that time Mr. Blankenburg's principal function in the politics of the city had been to lead, or to help in the leading of, committees, factions or parties opposed to the party in power or favoring changes and reforms along the line of what would usually be termed "non-partisan" or "business-like" government. Whatever he did in this respect was marked by much vigor and vehemence by the ardor of a courageous temperament, by the enthusiasm which springs largely from a joyous love of combat in the public arena and, fundamentally, by an innate abhorrence of venality, chicanery and oppressive abuses. No man was more qualified to stir the popular mind and at the same time command respect for sincerity than he was in all the years when he was free-footed in attacking wrongs and in bearding the most powerful of their defenders.

Very few men with such a temperament possess also in large degree the virtues which enter into the making of a successful administrator in an extensive public office elected by the people and involved in active politics. Patience, reticence, a shrewd knowledge of human nature, practical concentration of purpose, a keen perception of public opinion in all its fluctuations and eccentricities, the faculty for ready co-operation with all sorts of men who represent the varied life of the community, and the cool judgment or insight by which a useful man discerns the things which can be done and avoids those which can't be done are among the qualities which are to be found in the mayoralty or any kindred office when it is well and satisfactorily administered. In these respects Mr. Blankenburg has not been strong. But in honesty, in sincerity, in a sense of fidelity to conception of the mayoralty as a trust, in a pure love of the city and in eagerness to serve it to the very best of his ability, there is no man among us to whom he stands second.

Four years ago this month, when he went into that office, Mr. Blankenburg earnestly looked forward—far more earnestly than might have been expected of a man of his age—to the realization of some ideals of popular government in which he evidently had great faith. His inaugural address, the general spirit of his plans and intentions, and his appointments, even when some of them were mistaken, plainly indicated the zeal of an upright man whose mind and heart are bent on high and salutary aims. He was even moderate and conciliatory toward the party organization which had opposed him at the polls and which he had been almost continually in the habit of fighting, on local questions, for more than a generation. He went so far, too, as to retain one of its principal directors in order to show that he wanted to be fair and that he would be ready to appreciate merit among his opponents. But politically, or in an understanding of the customary workings of cause and effect when such acts of benevolence or magnanimity take place in politics, he exhibited less the wisdom of an experienced hand than the good intentions of a novice. Moreover he proceeded to adopt measures which, although they were in line with good government and were creditable to himself, alienated from him the good will and support of most of the active men who had been instrumental in procuring his election. Apparently he believed that "the people" would recognize the rectitude of his purpose and take their places in "rallying around" his administration. But within less than a year, the powerful following which had elected him had begun to fall apart, and from that time until his own picked candidate to succeed him was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls, he had only small, or relatively small, minority parties behind him.

Doubtless there were many people who had expected altogether too much of him. They found that the extent of corruption and misgovernment was by no means so great as they had supposed it to be, or, at least, that neither he nor his directors succeeded in uncovering the infamies and scandals which he had led them to believe honeycombed the city

hall in all its parts as it had never before been. This was eventually found to be a gross exaggeration. It may also be questioned whether the mayor was prudent in the second year of his administration when he deliberately resolved that he would become belligerent and make a fight for councils. Such action was not altogether in accord with what seemed to be his conception of the mayoralty as a business trust to be kept clear of political turmoil. Nor was it clever at a time when it must have been pretty plain to most men up a tree in feeling out public sentiment that he could not start up his fight policy without surely being beaten. That he had provocation for it, however, is undoubted. The organization managers in councils had begun to withhold from his administration what was fairly due it, to lay plans for "putting him in a hole," and to do no more toward the support of the departments under him than was necessary. But in the controversies which followed, the mayor was not always sagacious in either his plans or his tactics, and, after having lost most of his strong political friends who had been foremost in the campaign of 1911, he lost also the advisory board of citizens whom he had especially called around him with the very best of motives on his part, but who were afterwards disposed to say that it was not easy to co-operate with him as useful and practical advisers.

I shall not attempt to make any specific recital of either the mistakes or the successes of the mayor. To do so with a just analysis would need prolonged discussion. In general terms, however, it may be said that after full allowance has been made for his failures in realizing his ideals and for public disappointments at times as to his methods, his record in the mayoralty is worthy of respect from his fellow-citizens. His errors have been of the kind which good men will not be inclined to dwell upon harshly when they consider that they were not the errors of a bad heart, but that they sprang, for the most part, from a really altruistic and patriotic spirit. In fact, his kindly nature, despite his ardent love of a "fight," together with the perfectly manifest unselfishness in all his endeavors, despite his defective judgment at times, has caused the epithet of "the old man" to be bestowed upon him with a good-natured liking of the best traits in him both as a man and a public officer.

One thing is especially to be said of his administration. There has been less graft or venality in it than in any administration which active Philadelphians can now recall, and there has probably been less unfair or offensive politics in it than in any that the city has ever had either before or since the time of the Bullitt act. In these respects Mr. Blankenburg's standards have been high; and had it not been for his yielding to the impulse to go down town on election day, after having ordered hundreds of policemen to man the inside of the polling places—a mistake which was just as honest as it was improper—even the bitterest of his critics would say very little against him, so far as his personal acts are concerned.

It is seldom that a mayor goes out of office as strong or as popular as when he went in. Remembering all the occupants of the office from the time of Fox, I can think of only one who had not lost prestige or was not somewhat discredited when he went back into private life. If Mr. Blankenburg is viewed in a somewhat different light from that in which he was known to the public four years ago, if he has made enemies, if the measure of his achievements has been less than his supporters thought they saw coming in the midst of their millennial enthusiasm over his advent at the city hall, he is simply like most of even the very best of his predecessors. It is unfortunate, however, that such a man could not now be placed in select or common council for the rest of his days. There he would have full play for the exercise of his public virtues in outspoken expression or as an agitator; no matter how small the minority behind him, he would have the Holman-like spirit on the floor, of a "watch dog of the treasury." But as it is, he will be entitled to receive. when he shall come back to us from California, to settle down as a private citizen, the good-will of all Philadelphians who, whether they are organization men or reformers, are clear-headed and manly enough to recognize an upright man in the midst of whatever may be charged against him as blunders or as follies.

If he could not do all that he thought he could do, there are at least no stains or splotches on his honor.

PENN.

MAYOR BAKER'S ADMINISTRATION IN CLEVELAND¹

BY PROF. C. C. ARBUTHNOT

Western Reserve University

HE decision of Mayor Baker to refuse, for personal reasons, to be a candidate for a third term as mayor of Cleveland, together with the defeat at the polls in November of Peter Witt, the Democratic organization's candidate as Mr. Baker's successor, marks the close of an important period in the city's history. Barring the two years of Mr. Baehr's term, the municipality has been for fifteen years under the influence of the Johnson school of politics. Again it has swung back to a Republican régime, headed by Harry L. Davis, though the council is still controlled by a moderate majority of Democrats. A brief review of Mr. Baker's administration seems fitting at this time and incidentally may bring out some of the causes that lead to the defeat of the Democrats, though the influences prevalent in the recent contest were matters of personality of the candidates, as well as of policy and achievement.

The following discussion will concern itself with Mayor Baker's administration in its relation to finance, efficiency in management, the public service corporations, trained specialization as a test for city employes, the reduction of the influence of national political parties in city government, the public health, the departments of public safety and service, and Mr. Baker's personal influence on the city's life.

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

Cleveland's financial condition is the subject of keen discussion and anxiety. Like most municipalities in the country, and practically all of those in Ohio, the city is hard pressed for funds. The deficit due to operating expenses has now reached a million and half of dollars. Most of this has appeared during the period of the Baker administration's conduct of the city's business; part being inherited from the previous administration. No one who has given the matter thought believes that this situation is due to corrupt expenditure or gross carelessness in management.

THE BURDEN OF DEBT

Investigation by the Civic league in 1914, made on the basis of data for 1912, the latest then available, showing the fiscal experience of St.

¹ See E. C. Hopwood's article, National Municipal Review, Vol. ii, page 461.
—Editor.

Louis, Boston, Baltimore, Pittsburgh and Detroit, compared with that of Cleveland brought out facts favorable to the latter.²

The striking case in which Cleveland appeared at a disadvantage was in the rate of growth in her indebtedness. In a ten year period the increase in the city's debt was more rapid than in any of the six cities. This bad eminence was due to an evasion of sinking fund requirements demanded by sound finance and a failure to liquidate debts as they came due. Such practices are common in Ohio municipal experience. The upshot, in Cleveland, of this inherited and continued policy is a general bonded debt whose interest in 1915 amounted to nearly one and a half million of dollars paid from general tax revenues. In addition there is interest amounting to over a half million dollars to be paid from water department and special assessment revenues. Taking a million and a half for the debt service from general revenues of four and a third millions is a serious blow to the operating departments in any current year.

Aside from public thriftlessness, the cause of this general practice is doubtless to be found in the fact that the growth in civic necessities has been more rapid than the development of civic consciousness. The citizen who required the improvements has not with equal step become the taxpayer ready to bear the cost. Administrations have felt compelled in self-defense to adopt what could be but a temporary expedient of disguising in bonded indebtedness what ought to have been paid out of increased taxation. A sound policy of facing the expense year by year would have been resented at the polls by the retarded civic sense of the community. A courageous stand on the correct principles of finance might have jarred the citizens into an appreciation of the situation, but it would have been suicidal for the party in power. It should have been done, but the politician is in the grip of the will to survive, especially when he believes that his successors will not be able to remedy the situation more rapidly than he could. The responsibility for the present state of affairs, so far as it is due to an abnormal burden of interest charges, is not to be unloaded entirely upon the city officials. It is the price to be paid by a lagging public intelligence for the rapidity of municipal growth. Moreover the expedient is not unknown in private business and has been practised in rapidly growing educational institutions whose administrators have felt obliged to show what ought to be done by doing

²(a) Cleveland's annual per capita expenditures for the maintenance and operation of the various departments of the city government were less than in most of these cities.

⁽b) Cleveland's total outlay for permanent improvements has averaged fairly low in comparison.

⁽e) Cleveland's rate of taxation was lower than in any of the six cities, excepting St. Louis.

⁽d) Cleveland's total income from all sources and her outlays for all purposes have been less per capita than the similar items of any of the other five cities and less than the average for cities over 300,000.

it, and then securing financial support on the basis of accomplishments rather than on a prospectus. It is bad business, but the municipal corporations are not alone in pursuing the policy.

LEGISLATURE'S CONTROL OF CITY'S INCOME

A more obvious reason for Cleveland's financial plight is found in two measures enacted by the state legislature and entirely beyond the city administration's control. These are (1) the Smith tax law, and (2) the reduction in the number of licensed saloons.

The Smith law of 1912 limits the total tax rate for state, county, city and school purposes to fifteen mills on each dollar of taxable property.³ From the city's portion of ten mills that may be levied are paid operating expenses plus the interest and sinking funds for bonds issued by the council. The additional five mills are reserved for interest and sinking funds upon bonds issued by vote of the people and for additional levies approved at the polls. Outside the fifteen mill limit additional taxes may be levied for state roads, repairing damage due to the flood of 1913 and other emergencies.

The reduction in the licenses of saloons cut their number in 1913 from 2,200 to 1,300 and reduced the share of revenue from liquor licenses falling to the city by \$546,000 a year.

The results of these measures affecting the city's two chief sources of income during a period in which the population has been growing steadily may be seen in the chart on page 229.

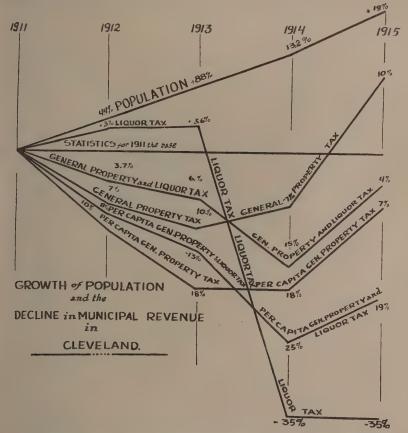
In view of the extraordinary fiscal experience through which the Baker administration has passed in the last four years it is not to be wondered at that the problem of securing funds for current operations has become critical. Cleveland's plight is shared by other Ohio municipalities to greater or less degree and the criticisms of the administration should be tempered by an appreciation of the difficulties that had to be faced. On the surface it is evident that considerable economy must have been practised, or the situation would have been worse than it is.

CRITICISMS OF OUTLAY

Notwithstanding the facts concerning the restricted income, perhaps because of an incomplete realization of the real significance of these facts, the Baker administration has been the subject of criticism from various sources, partisan and otherwise. The deficit in the operating account has been explained as due to excessive outlay for services. Charges of poor management, particularly in regard to high expense in cases where work was done by direct labor, have been made in specified instances, and general assertions of uneconomical expenditures throughout the conduct

^{*} See National Municipal Review, vol. iv, page 453.—Editor.

of public business have been freely handed about without being pinned down always to exact details.⁴



The contrast between the rising line of population and the falling lines showing income is striking. With a steadily growing population it is to be noted that the totals from general property and liquor tax fell in 1912 to a level 3.7 per cent below that of 1911, in 1913 6 per cent below, and reached the extraordinary point of 15 per cent below in 1914. The increase in tax duplicate raised the total in 1915, but even then the total income is 4 per cent less than in 1911, while the population has increased 19 per cent. If the city had enjoyed each year since 1911 an income equal to the income of 1911 it would have received \$1,328,833 more than it did receive. Other things remaining the same, the accumulated deficit would have been but \$171,167 instead of \$1,500,000, during the period in which the population increased from 587,000 to 700,000. If the per capita burden of municipal taxation had remained since 1911 at the level of 1911 (\$7,651) the city would have received in the four years a total of \$3,406,844 more than it did receive. There would have been a surplus, other things remaining the same, of \$1,906,844 instead of the present deficit of \$1,500,000.

It has been alleged, for example, that the leveling of Fairview reservoir which cost the city, by direct labor, 45 cents a yard, could have been done by the contract system for 25 cents a yard. This allegation, it should be noted, was made after the work was

The reply of the administration is a specific and a general denial, and a challenge to be more precise in pointing out services to be curtailed and expenses to be reduced.

FAILURE TO PROVIDE THE INDEPENDENT AUDIT

The candid observer is left with an unsatisfactory sensation of uncertainty and incomplete information in trying to estimate the force of the criticisms and the strength of the replies. The high character of the men with whom Mayor Baker surrounded himself, their fine conception of public responsibility, their superior level of intelligence and industry in the city's service have impressed those who have been thrown in contact with them. It is all the more to be regretted that the facts of the city's business have not been revealed in such detail as to enable these men to explain the charges or remedy the weaknesses that may have appeared. This failure on the part of the administration has been the more inexplicable in face of the definite provisions of the city charter drawn by a commission of which Mayor Baker was the president.⁵

The imperative mandate of the charter has been flatly disregarded. The director of finance has issued an excellent general ledger report each year: but the continuous independent audit contemplated by the charter has never been made. The explanations of this negligence on the ground of expense and that the administration's own records were sufficient have never been satisfactory to those intelligently interested in the municipality's government. Many an independent who has voted for Mr. Baker because of a belief in his ability and integrity, has been chagrined at the absence of impartial data upon which to base a sound judgment of the

finished, and does not mean that a contractor offered to do the work for 25 cents a yard. It has been pointed out, for instance, that when an extension of the tunnels into the lake for the purpose of improving the water supply was submitted to contractors for bids, the administration rejected all bids on the ground that they were too high and undertook construction by direct labor under its own supervision. It is now charged that the ultimate expense will greatly exceed the figures at which contractors offered to do the work. This, it will be observed, is a prediction.

In the complaints of general inefficiency the number of positions and size of salaries in proportion to the service rendered are the main items. Keeping a number of foremen on the payroll during the winter when their men were let go with the cessation of outdoor work, and less definite charges and suggestions constitute the blanket indictment respecting loose business methods.

The charter requires that "the council shall cause a continuous audit to be made of the books of account, records and transactions of the administrative departments of the city . . . by one or more certified public accountants" covering "in detail all transactions affecting the acquisition, custodianship and disposition of values, including cash receipts and disbursements; and the recorded facts shall be presented periodically to officials and to the public in such summaries and analytical schedules in detailed support thereof, as shall be necessary to show the full effect of such transactions for each fiscal year upon the finances of the city. . . ."

administration's achievements. This regrettable neglect and refusal to comply with a fundamental requirement of the charter was not only bad policy, but also bad politics as shown in the last election when the administration's candidate was defeated. A substantial number of people, who were otherwise favorably disposed to the existing régime, wanted the audit and had no other way of showing their desires except by turning out the party in power. This may fairly be said to have been one in the complex of influences that compassed Mr. Witt's defeat.

There is a disposition on the part of generous critics of the administration to grant that within the obvious limitations of political possibilities, the public business has been conducted as efficiently as the general run of private businesses. But there is a growing belief that under the pressure of increasing public needs and the limitation of income the public business must be raised from the plane of ordinary business efficiency toward the level of the highest grade of management. The percentage of failures in ordinary business is so large that a concern like a municipality, operating on about the same level, must likewise go on the rocks. To raise the quality of public service a prime requisite is the constructive criticism of an independent audit and budget practice that will show not merely the formal compliance with the principles of sound bookkeeping, but also whether or not the specific expenditures are wise and the best under the circumstances. Even after this is done it may be necessary to spend more of the total income of the community through public channels. Citizens are enjoying more common services now, and will be obliged to spend more as a group. There is no question about the increased income of the community as a whole. The crux of the question is what fraction shall we spend individually and what fraction shall we in our organized relation spend for these services that are jointly operated and enjoyed. The willingness of the citizens to carry the burdens in the form of taxation will depend largely upon their belief as to whether they are getting their money's worth from the current expenditures.

In view of these criticisms it ought to be repeated that the facts of the city's finances make a *prima facie* case favorable to the claim that the administration has been reasonably economical and effective considering the service it has rendered. It is a matter for regret that detailed independent information is not available to make a conclusive judgment possible.

DISTINCTIVE ACHIEVEMENTS

Over against the record of general management of city affairs in which the citizen is in doubt stand certain achievements in business management for which the municipality will always be indebted to the Baker administration. Notable among these is the completion of the city hall, begun by Mayor Baehr, Baker's predecessor, one of the structures in the anticipated group plan of public buildings. The monumental edifice, which at one time threatened to become as expensive as its sister structure, the county court house, has been all but finished at a cost little more than half that of the latter, and its utility and beauty as a feature on the proposed Mall is all that need be desired. It is a striking building and distinguished public work, constructed within a reasonable length of time without scandal, graft, or extravagance, unless all monumental buildings for public offices are extravagant.

Just beside the new city hall, at the end of the Mall will be erected in the immediate future the long-heralded Union depot which will be the gateway to Cleveland and a memorial of a successful negotiation between Mayor Baker and the railroads, closing a long dispute regarding the city's and the railroad's rights to lake shore property and opening a way to a constructive program for improving the waterfront, facilitating transportation, hastening the completion of the group plan and removing that ancient evesore, the present union station. The railroads are to pay the city \$1,400,000 for the site for the depot and the money is to be spent in acquiring lands for the Mall which will extend from the Union depot to Superior avenue. Mayor Baker's activities in the legal struggles involved in this controversy as well as in the business transactions with which the matter was wound up, have been of the highest order and of the greatest public service. The voters have endorsed the settlement which closes a chapter in Cleveland's history and closes it with justice and honor to all parties concerned.

Hard by the new Union depot are the passenger boat docks that have been removed from their ancient and malodorous situation on the river to the splendid piers at the foot of East Ninth street. Every passenger who crosses a gang-plank in the new situation and remembers the old will recall with gratitude to Mr. Baker that this change was made during his administration.

Another successful negotiation with a public service corporation on the part of the Baker administration was that with the East Ohio gas company. The skill and persistence with which it was demonstrated to the company that the supply of gas was inadequate led to the construction of a new main from the West Virginia fields, a reasonable provision for the extension of service to consumers and the possibility of substituting 30 cent natural gas for 80 cent artificial gas when advantageous to private consumers and the city.

Among the greatest of Mayor Baker's services to the city are these reasonable arrangements that have been made with the managers of quasi-public utilities. His interest in proposed improvements of facilities for handling freight in and out of the city, easier access to the lake front for all the railroads by means of a subway and reduction in the expense of cartage are sometimes overlooked by persons who think of him

as the originator of a premature municipal orchestra and his administration as sponsor for a project to pay the cost of a new boulevard by excess condemnation of abutting land, a scheme which is in a state of arrested development.

STREET RAILWAYS

For a long period the politics of Cleveland revolved around the street railway situation. The problem was eventually restated in the form of the plan devised by Judge Robert W. Tayler and an attempt at solution is now being worked out along the lines thus laid down. The stockholders of the company are guaranteed a 6 per cent return upon the capital, as it was readjusted by Mayor Johnson and F. H. Goff, through a provision that the rate of fare shall be raised or lowered within certain limits sufficiently to meet the cost of maintenance and operation and to provide a fund large enough to insure the regular payment of the fixed dividend. The slogan during the long struggle that preceded the initiation of this scheme was "three cent fare." The basis of the settlement as indicated was "fare at 'cost' plus 6%." Whether the rate of three cents can be maintained or approached depends in part on the quality of the management. To secure the public interest the Tayler plan provided for a commissioner to be appointed by the mayor, at a salary not to exceed \$12,000 a year, \$2,000 higher than the salary of the mayor, and twice that of the director of any department of the city government. This large salary is paid by the street railway company. The evident intent of the originators of the plan was to secure for this position a competent expert, trained in transportation problems and able to advise and control the company in an endeavor to get the desired service at the lowest possible outlay.

The first appointment to this position was under Mayor Baker's predecessor in office and the position was given to the ablest campaigner on the winning side in the contest preceding the election, a lawyer with no experience in street railway matters.

The second appointment was by Mayor Baker who awarded the place to the ablest campaigner in the contest preceding his election, Peter Witt, who likewise was without experience in railway management. The salary, however, was scaled down to \$7,500.

Mr. Witt, a man of exceptional ability and vigor, learned rapidly and the company management co-operated effectively.

The system has been improved physically and the service rendered is well worth what is paid for it, and will not suffer by comparison with that of the surface lines in many cities where a five cent fare is charged.

It has been found, however, that a duplication at three cents of the long rides and free transfers prevalent under the five cent fare or eleven tickets for fifty cents was not possible. Many of the suburban riders

have continued to pay the old rates. Within the city and East Cleveland the fare is three cents for a ride on any line with a one cent charge for a transfer. The plan amounts to a three cent fare for 75 per cent of the riders and a four cent fare for the other 25 per cent. The long haul to and from East Cleveland is rendered at a loss to the system, but there is no remedy at present because provisions in the franchise require the same rate to this suburb as is enjoyed by passengers in the city along the same route.

What the future fare will be is still in the lap of the gods. The charge for transfers has been explained as due to a slump in earnings caused by the dull period in business and hope is held out that restored prosperity with the use of the better equipment will raise the interest fund to the point where all within the city can enjoy the three cent rate. against this is the deficit in maintenance and other funds that leads pessimists to assert that the tendency of fares is bound to be upward rather than the reverse. The hope that the increasing efficiency of Mr. Witt would help to keep down and reduce the expense of operation has vanished. He decided to give up the commissionership and become the Democratic organization's candidate to succeed Mayor Baker, but was defeated, as noted above. If the Republican mayor had possessed the political heroism to have offered to reappoint Mr. Witt as commissioner or had named another street railway expert for the position the outlook for a conclusive determination as to whether or not three cent fare is possible would be brighter. He, however, has followed the precedent of his Republican and Democratic predecessors and named a political adherent, untrained in the business, for the position. An office that began in this enlightened era without the trammels of traditions, with the easy possibility of being classified as an expert's post has been lowered to the level of a partisan appointment in one of the best governed cities in the country and that by three mayors representing both parties, and all of them honorable men. We still have some distance to go in municipal government!

TRAINED SERVICE

Over against this neglect of an opportunity to put the municipality's business on the high plane of trained service, stands Mayor Baker's action in seeking even in other cities for the best talent available. The commissioner of recreation was brought to Cleveland strictly on the basis of promised usefulness notwithstanding the presence on the ground of persons whose appointment might have been of consequence in strengthening the party organization. The appointment of the commissioner of smoke prevention under the ordinance drawn by the chamber of commerce committee was based entirely on the mayor's judgment that the engineer who was the chairman of that committee was the most competent man to give effect to its provisions. A long story might be told of instances where

Mayor Baker's appointments for merit alone have raised the tone of the public service, and the list would be made up not only from the testimony of his followers, but also from the tributes of minority councilmen. Mayor Baker's insistence upon merit and refusal to pass out the jobs to "the boys" during his first term would probably have cost him the election to his second term if it had not been for the non-partisan support he received from independent Republicans.

PARTISAN POLITICS

During his administration Mayor Baker had an overwhelming Democratic majority in the city council. He also was for a considerable period the head of the local Democratic organization. He was president of the commission which drew up the existing city charter. Among the more prominent features of the charter are the provisions looking toward a reduction in the influence of national party organizations on the city's government. It ought to be said in passing that this reform is of less significance in Cleveland than in many other municipalities because party contests in the city, in recent years, have turned almost entirely upon local issues. Party primaries are now eliminated, candidates are nominated by petition only. No party designations appear upon the ballots. The preferential system of voting is in use. Notwithstanding these provisions the existing political organizations have thus far named their candidates and elected them with little more inconvenience than under the old system. The possibilities of the charter in this respect remain for future exploitation—possibly for the not too remote future. Under the present conditions the so-called non-partisan municipal administration as a practical matter has been the subject of considerable light-hearted jesting and ironical allusion. The minority members of the council have been gently hazed by giving them such positions as chairman of the committee on printing, or putting them upon the audit committee that had no money to spend. It may be quixotic to believe that minorities as representatives of certain groups of citizens have a part to play in government and that they can be used to the advantage of the whole group if the majority cares to give them any free play. The failure of the majority to recognize the minority created unnecessary antagonism and put the smaller group in the position of always "viewing with alarm," and rarely utilized the intelligence of the few for the good of the whole.

The prospect of saving municipal government from the disturbances of national politics is remote if reliance upon changes in the form of election machinery is the basis of our dreams. It behooves the majority in municipalities without surrendering the power that the electors have placed in their hands, to put the minority members into active service, load them with some share of responsibility for the public work, entangle

them indeed in the execution of the administration's policies and by sheer force of working together put the minority in a positive relation to the city government. The policy of isolating the group in comparative ineffectiveness draws the partisan line sharper, turns energy that should be constructive into obstructive tactics, sours the milk of common interest and sacrifices matters of local concern to an overemphasized national distinction. The cities will never begin to free themselves from this incubus unless they commence in substance as well as form. An enlightened majority must start the unloading process. The Democratic majority with Mayor Baker at its head failed entirely in furthering the development of this reform, a failure all the more keenly felt because Mayor Baker has taught many a Republican in this city to forget national party affiliations when voting for himself as city solicitor or as mayor.

PUBLIC HEALTH

One of the outstanding activities of the city to which Mayor Baker has lent his whole-hearted support is the splendid and encouraging efforts being put forth to check the ravages of tuberculosis and reduce its prevalence. The work in this crucial test of social strength has been well organized within the city, administered through strategically located dispensaries and a body of competent trained nurses. At Warrensville, on the city farm, there is developed an expanding provision for the treatment of sufferers along the lines of the best modern practice. The administration has reason to be proud of its fostering this admirable enterprise.

When the quick and intelligent response that Mayor Baker's administration has characteristically made to all well-grounded efforts to protect the public health is compared with his stand respecting the construction of a filtration plant to purify the city's water supply, the candid observer is somewhat puzzled. The rapid growth of the population on the shores of Lake Erie has resulted in the pollution of its waters to a degree that renders it at times dangerous as a beverage and forbidding in a bath.

After nearly everyone else had become morally certain that filtration was the only way out, the mayor, clinging to a report made for him by an expert upon whom he alone relied, intimated that the turbidity of the water was an esthetic phenomenon, largely subjective and possible of elimination by the self-directed psychological reaction of changing one's taste.

It required a referendum petition in the hands of the minority councilmen and a mighty storm that roiled the waters of the lake to convince the mayor that his fellow citizens who could afford it were buying distilled water and those who could least afford it were running the risk of doctors' and undertakers' bills. When the mayor changed his mind, his administration, securing the advice of competent engineers and

chemists and health authorities, vigorously undertook the task of building a filtration plant and within a short time it is expected that an abundant supply of pure water will be distributed through the city's mains with the possibility of taking care of twice the present population. Supplementing this great improvement is the progress in constructing intercepting sewers and disposal plants.

The low death rate—rather less than thirteen per thousand of the population—is a substantial evidence of the effectiveness of the health bureau with its physicians and nurses. The increased facilities in the city hospital, the progress at Warrensville Farm in the care of dependents and defectives, the boys' and girls' farms for wayward young people, the efforts toward better housing are significant and characteristic of the administration's interest in the humane side of city government.

The bureau of immigration has made an outstanding record in its service for new-comers to Cleveland and this country. The city-state employment bureau did splendid work in the hard times of last winter, while the employment division for women and girls, taken over from a private organization, is second to none in the country.

It would make a long story to set down in detail the work of the fire and police departments whose competent and intelligent management has made a minimum amount of money do a maximum amount of work.

The multifarious activities of the department of public service in lighting the streets, in paving and laying of sewers, in garbage disposal, in the elimination of grade crossings, in the renovation of bridges, in the building of bath houses, in the improvement of parks and recreation facilities, have been such that their story would fill pages. Hard work and high endeavor have characterized the administration of this phase of the city's services to its citizens.

MERIT SYSTEM

In Mayor Baker's first term there was a halting application of the merit system in the appointment of employes in the street cleaning and street repair divisions, but the conditions have changed for the better and civil service has been firmly established as an administrative policy. The new charter originally provided that the merit system should cover all city employes who were carrying out but not formulating policies. The situation has been eased somewhat by exempting unskilled laborers from the operation of the rules.

The attempt at getting away from the spoils system in Cleveland has brought out a distinction between the administrative department and the council of more than passing interest. The mayor and his cabinet have stood as the exponents of advanced ideas in government and the newer standards in political morality; all this without forgetting a belated devotion to party organization and a submission to political regularity,

doubtless due to a constrained belief that bowing down oneself in the house of Rimmon is not more than a venial sin, and is a political necessity in order to accomplish larger ends. The members of the council, on the other hand, more nearly represent the tenaciously surviving political beliefs of the mass of citizens that party victory is more than an opportunity for public service. Some of the mayor's followers have marked time in appearing to keep step with him. But to abandon the flesh pots of the older régime was to leave real meat behind. The mayor has needed the organization's political strength to put through his ideas: the organization has needed the mayor to carry them to victory. council though making the motions of advancing has hung back in regard to the general application of the merit system. It has been hostile to the non-partisan ballot. It set the date of election on an amendment to the charter restoring the partisan method of nomination and election on primary day when partisans alone are likely to go to the polls. Nonpartisan elections would take away the political power of the ward organizations and the councilmen. It has been painful for councilmen to surrender their administrative powers to the executive division and content themselves with their proper functions under the new charter; that of determining policies. They can appeal more strongly to many of their constituents with patronage rather than with measures.

The mutual attraction and repulsion of these two political bodies, the administrative and legislative divisions, in their revolutions around each other help to explain the aberrations of both. The conduct of one at times has not been as high as the group's level of civic interest while the policy of the other has often been better than it might have been.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

There are two enterprises of uncertain future that Mayor Baker's administration has left upon retiring from office: the municipal lighting plant and the steam heating plant.

Two methods of securing satisfactory service and rates from public service corporations have been tried in Cleveland: that of negotiation, so ably pursued by Mayor Baker as indicated above, and that of competition through a municipal enterprise created for the purpose, the method Mayor Johnson made notable in the street railway struggles of his administration.

The method of adjustment by competition has been the policy of the Baker administration in attempting to secure lower rates for the users of electricity. The slogan of three cent light was adopted as a criticism and goal compared with the illuminating company's 10 cents per unit for the initial rated quantity and five cents per unit for subsequent amounts, averaging between six and seven cents in a great number of residences.

The municipal plant charges a minimum rate of fifty cents a month, which in summer months when little current is used, may in some homes result in a rate somewhat above three cents per unit. The new municipal lighting plant has been in operation since July 1914 and is now serving some 15,000 customers. The relative scope of its business is shown by the rough comparison with the 75,000 customers of the Electric Illuminating Company. The proportion of the municipal plant's current sold under power contracts as compared to that used in residences is large and its distributing net work of wires is not as extensive as is the corporation's so that the number of consumers who can enjoy the reduced rate for home illumination is at present limited though increasing. The municipality's competition has advertised central station power and reduced expenses for the users of electricity.

The municipal plant claims to be operating at a substantial profit—some \$33,000 during the first seven months of 1915. The illuminating company on the other hand asserts that in the municipal plant's accounts too little has been set aside as reserve for depreciation, that not enough has been charged for interest and that a sinking fund reserve has been neglected: the total loss that would be shown if these assertions are true would be \$81,000 for the period in which the municipal plant claims the above profit. Unfortunately the absence of an independent audit leaves the citizens in doubt about the relative merits of the situation.

The purchase of bonds for the extension of the plant by the trustees of the city's sinking funds has excited considerable criticism. Certainly the practice in the hands of a weaker administration would give rise to grave dangers. The interrelations with the water works has left many citizens with an uneasy feeling that a sound system demands a more complete separation of enterprises and funds for the purpose of exactly estimating the standing of each institution.

The steam heating plant was started in connection with the Fairmount pumping station which is no longer important as part of the water works system. The city has embarked in this pioneering project with results and prospects that at this writing are in serious doubt, though there is a considerable body of opinion that an independent audit would show the plan to be a losing venture. And not a few believe that its ostensible purpose, to heat the new art building, which is a mile away, will never be economically served.

MUNICIPALISM

The attempt to measure the significance of Mayor Baker's service to Cleveland merely by an enumeration of the things done, that took the eye and had the price, or the things undone, or the failure always to rise to the level set by himself, would be an instance of a coarse thumb and finger failing to plumb truly and missing what ought to be included in

making up the main account. An elevated political idealism is one of Cleveland's public assets and while it savors of hero worship to credit an individual with a determining influence on public feeling, still it may truly be said that Mr. Baker has had no mean part in expressing and cherishing a civic spirit of extraordinary vitality. So vigorous has this spirit become at times that modesty is not always one of its chief characteristics as it sets itself upon a hill.

In its finer manifestations the prevalent municipalism exhibits an alertness to the increasing interdependence of community life and the necessity and possibilities of community services under the control of both municipal and privately managed organizations. The city is neither committed to the general adoption of municipal ownership, nor will it let the bugaboo cry of "socialism" prevent its serviceable extension of functions. This conservative progression is more than a halting between two opinions. It is a pragmatic pursuit of an ideal. To the establishment of this policy Mr. Baker has devoted the full strength of a splendid intelligence influenced by a wholesome sympathy.

MR. BAKER'S PERSONALITY

It has been said of John Stuart Mill that his presence in the House of Commons elevated the tone of debate. Occasionally a man appears whose personality is radio-active. Certainly it is true that the cultural attainments of Cleveland's retiring executive have advanced among the mass of citizens the general esteem in which things of the mind are held. Mr. Baker possesses the singular ability of being able to participate in political discussions at Saturday night ward meetings and deliver Sunday evening lectures in the university without raising or lowering the plane of his addresses. He could welcome the Daughters of Rebekah to the freedom of the city and clap the lid on the licentious sons of Belial with equal grace and effectiveness. A cultivated taste and a wide intellectual outlook, united with a catholicity in judgment, made the scholar in the mayor's office a source of more real gratification to many of his fellow townsmen than malls and monumental buildings.

Along with personal endowments of the nobler sort Mr. Baker possesses a capacity for dispatching business that stood him in good stead during the four years of severe labor just closed. After the storm and stress period of Mayor Johnson's régime, there was the wearing task of constructive and conciliatory upbuilding of the city's interests. The mayor's aptitude for positive achievement fitted him well for the need of the time. He showed a power of adjustment and an ability for negotiation that reduced strained relationships, and sought the equitable way out of conflicts between public and private interests. The city's routine activities, in view of the exceptional financial difficulties thrust upon the administration by the state legislature, necessitated unremitting exertion.

Joined with all the other interests that have engaged his attention, these cumulative tasks laid a burden upon Mr. Baker's shoulders that would have broken an ordinary man. He has stood up under the load only because his strength was as the strength of ten—and this for the ancient, knightly reason.

The lack of standards of comparison brings the attempt at summing up Mayor Baker's contribution to Cleveland's life to an incomplete close. To draw a parallel between his career and that of the general run of mayors in this country would be provocative of adulation distasteful to a man of his fine fiber. That there were times when he was not all that he aspired to be comforts his better fellow citizens in their own shortcomings. That he will rank in history as one of the few great mayors of American cities is certain. That he will be permitted permanently to retire to private life and the practice of law is improbable.

Among Cleveland's chief industries is the clothing trade. In this line of business the designer creates a garment that is the embodiment of his ideal for the use to which it is to be put. Thereupon his creation is handed over to the business managers for their consideration. The thing of beauty must be made at an expense which will bring the retail price within the range of a large enough body of consumers to make it a profitable article of merchandise. The managers, therefore, begin the process of reducing the expense of production by changing the linings, or substituting cheaper buttons, or altering the trimming, or adopting a somewhat different type of material, always keeping the ideal garment in mind, but remembering that the ideal must be made a commercial possibility or it will remain a fancy.

The task before succeeding Cleveland administrators is to see if the type of government that has been set up as an ideal can be made a financial possibility. Can its virtues be retained in spite of trimming here, substituting there, modifying and consolidating? Will these changes reduce the expenses to a sufficient degree? If and when this is done, should the funds still be inadequate, can the new Republican régime more easily influence the legislature so to revise the taxing system or the division of the receipts that it will allow the city an adequate income? These are the problems confronting Mayor Davis and his associates who have the interest and sympathy of their fellow citizens in the magnitude of the task that is before them.

THE PROGRESS OF MUNICIPAL HOME RULE IN OHIO¹

BY MAYO FESLER
Secretary, Cleveland Civic League

HEN the cities of Ohio succeeded in having adopted in 1912 the constitutional home rule amendment, they thought they had secured three things:

1. Freedom from legislative interference.

2. Authority to exercise all powers of local self-government.

3. The right to determine their own form of government in any one of the following three ways:

a. By continuing to be governed by the general municipal code.

b. By adopting a charter enacted by the legislature, subject to adoption by a vote of the people in any municipality.

c. By electing a charter commission to frame its own charter.

The friends of the amendment believed that the new constitutional provisions guaranteed all of the above freedom and authority under whatever form of government might be adopted by a municipality. They also knew that freedom from legislative interference in local affairs and authority to exercise all powers of local self government would not be assured until the amendment itself had been interpreted by the supreme court of the state. A strict construction might leave the cities with home rule only in name, as has occurred in several of the so-called home rule state. A liberal construction would give them the freedom which they have for years been seeking. Five cases have gone to the supreme court since January 1913, each of which has determined some important phase of the home rule grant.

TOLEDO CASE

The first case went up from the city of Toledo. This case arose over an effort of Mayor Brand Whitlock to test out, in a friendly suit, the meaning of section 3 of the amendment which reads:

Municipalities shall have authority to exercise all powers of local self government and to adopt and enforce within their limits such local police, sanitary and other similar regulations as are not in conflict with general laws.

¹A paper read at the twenty-first annual meeting of the National Municipal League, held in Dayton, Ohio, November 18, 1915.

The following articles on municipal affairs in Ohio, which in a way involve some of the questions discussed by Mr. Fesler in the present article, have recently appeared in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW: Cincinnati's Charter Campaign, S. Gale Lowrie, vol. iii, p. 730; Municipal Revenues in Ohio, S. Gale Lowrie, vol. iv, p. 254; The Financial Condition of Ohio Municipalities, Karl F. Geiser, vol. iv, p. 453.—Editor.

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The council of Toledo had passed an ordinance appropriating money to establish a moving picture theatre. The city auditor refused to make the transfer of funds and to furnish the certificate required by the ordinance. The city solicitor then petitioned the court for a writ of mandamus to compel the auditor to comply with the provisions of the ordinance. The writ was refused and the case was carried through the court of appeals to the supreme court. The decision of the court, written by Justice Schauck, held that section 3 above quoted is not self executive, and that municipalities of the state will continue to be governed by general laws until they have either framed and adopted charters of their own, or have adopted charters framed by the legislature. The court held that the maintenance and operation of moving picture shows is not a governmental function. The court thus avoided the important question involved in the suit, namely, "Does the establishment of moving picture shows come within the meaning of the term 'powers of local self government'?"

One conclusion was clear, however, and that was that if a city did not adopt a charter, it could not exercise the powers of local self government whatever they might be. This interpretation was a surprise to the framers of the amendment, because they intended to grant these powers to municipalities whether they adopted home made charters or not.

CLEVELAND'S ELECTION CASE

Cleveland, in the meantime, was framing its new city charter which was approved by the people in June 1913. It provided, among other things, for nomination by petition and a non-partisan preferential ballot in municipal elections, in direct conflict with the provisions of the election laws of the state which had been on the statute books for several years. Both could not be the law in Cleveland. Which would control?

The board of elections, following the instructions of the secretary of state and the legal opinion of the attorney general, made preparation to hold the regular party primaries in conformity with the provisions of the state law. The city sought to restrain the election authorities from spending the city's money for a party primary which had been abolished in the city by the adoption of the charter. The injunction was granted and an appeal was taken to the supreme court.

When the supreme court, by a vote of three to three, refused to reverse the action of the lower court, the friends of the amendment were pleased; but when the decision of the court³ was handed down in the form of an extended written opinion prepared by Justice Johnson, they were much more pleased. The decision fully sustained the position taken by the

² The State, ex rel, The City of Toledo v. Lynch, auditor, 88 O. S. 71.

^{*}Fitzgerald et al, Board of Deputy State Supervisors, etc., v. The City of Cleveland, 88 O. S. 338.

framers of the amendment, that these constitutional provisions grant to the cities of the state the broadest powers of local self government, and place charter provisions above state law in matters of local concern. Discussing the relation of these two kinds of laws, the court said:

But this general law (the election law) passed under this constitutional provision must yield to a charter provision adopted by a municipality under a special constitutional provision, which special provision was adopted for the purpose of enabling the municipality to relieve itself of the operation of general statutes and adopt a method of its own to assist its own self government, and which charter, when adopted, has the force and effect of a law. . . . The provisions of a charter which is passed within the limits of a constitutional grant of authority to the city is as much the law as a statute passed by the general assembly. . . . Municipal elections are and should be regarded as affairs relating to the municipality itself, and are things that may be provided by the local government.

If this favorable and sweeping decision had been expressed as the opinion of a majority of the court, the cities would have felt that the principle of municipal home rule had been pretty firmly established; but it was only the opinion of three—a tie—just enough to save a reversal of the opinion of the lower court.

DAYTON'S CIVIL SERVICE CASE

The next case came from Dayton where a new charter had been adopted, providing among other things for the appointment by the council of a civil service commission. The members of the commission in office on January 1, 1914, when the charter took effect, refused to vacate their offices, claiming that under the state civil service law enacted in April 1913, they were to continue in office for the terms for which they were originally appointed. Here again was presented the issue: "In case of conflict between the general law and the charter provision on a matter of local concern which prevails?" The supreme court by a vote of four concurring and none dissenting sustained the demurrer and rendered a decision in favor of the charter provision.

This decision bolstered up the hopes of the friends of home rule and they began to feel that the principle was in the hands of an unprejudiced if not a sympathetic court.

SINKING FUND CASE

The next case came before the supreme court in the summer of 1914 when a taxpayer of Cleveland asked for a writ of mandamus compelling the mayor of Cleveland to appoint a sinking fund commission in conformity with the requirements of the general code, rather than under the provisions of the city charter. The issue was clear: "Shall the provisions of the city charter as to the formation and personnel of the board of

sinking fund trustees prevail over the provisions of the constitution and the general code on that subject, or shall they be held invalid because of the conflict?"

This was a more severe test of the extent and meaning of the grant of powers of local self government than the other cases, because it involved two other constitutional provisions, namely, article XII, section 2, and article XIII, section 6.

Section 2 of article XII provides:

No bonded indebtedness of the state or any political sub-division thereof shall be incurred unless in the legislation under which such indebtedness is incurred or renewed provision is made for levying and collecting annually by taxation an amount sufficient to pay the interest on said bonds and to provide a sinking fund for their final redemption at maturity.

Section 6 of article XIII gives the general assembly authority to restrict by general law the city's power "of taxation, assessments, borrowing money, contracting debts and loaning their credit, so as to prevent the abuse of such power."

The legislature had, under the latter provisions, established for each municipality by general law a board called the trustees of the sinking fund, consisting of four citizens to be appointed by the mayor. The Cleveland charter, on the other hand, provided for a sinking fund commission consisting of the mayor, the director of finance and the president of the council. The attorney for the plaintiff contended that a municipality cannot clothe itself, by the adoption of a charter, with the power to establish a sinking fund commission, because such power is not granted by the constitution, and the assumption of such power by the city is contrary to the controlling provisions of the constitution and the general laws of the state. The city's contention was that the language of the home rule amendment is clear and unambiguous, and that by the adoption of the amendment, the people intended to free the municipalities of the state from the control of the general assembly in matters of local concern, and that this is a matter of local concern.

Some of the ablest legal talent in the state was employed to frame the leading brief of the plaintiff. Two members of the constitutional convention were also prevailed upon to file briefs on behalf of the plaintiff. Not only was the home rule amendment and the two former decisions exhaustively analyzed in support of the plaintiff's contention, but the debates of the constitutional convention were elaborately commented upon; even an unfortunate comma which, by mistake, had crept into the draft loomed up in big proportions in these briefs and reply briefs. The leading and very able brief of the plaintiffs summed itself up in these words:

The debates and proceedings of the convention, the manner in which the original proposal was amended, the terms in which the article finally passed show clearly enough that the advocates of unlimited charter powers got very much less than they wanted. They probably did get the power to establish charter regulations upon the subjects which have been regarded as proper for the enactment of ordinances. . . . But the terms of the amendment require the subjects of charter regulations to be confined to those subjects upon which the general assembly does not deem it necessary to exercise the superior legislative powers of the state.

In other words, they insisted that charter provisions and ordinances are subordinate to state laws even in matters of local concern.

The able brief for the city, covering 102 printed pages, showed clearly the concern with which this last and most effective attack upon the principle of home rule was regarded.

Should this court decide that with a charter, the people of a municipality are still without authority to alter even the agencies which manage and control the funds raised by taxation, they will have been swept back once again to the period when admittedly the general assembly could, under the constitution, control, with an iron hand, the destinies of every municipality, even to the minutest detail . . . and the people of Ohio will have been denied that larger freedom of action in their local concerns which article XVIII, by its plain terms, was intended to bestow upon them.

We cannot go into the detail of the arguments, but suffice it to say that the friends of municipal home rule were again greatly relieved when the court by a unanimous vote dismissed the petition and sustained the demurrer. No written opinion has, as yet, been handed down by the court in this case. We are hoping that the court will do so and clear away any doubt as to how far the debates of the convention can be used in determining the meaning of the home rule amendment. One principle of construction, however, was clearly reasserted, namely, that charter provisions relating to matters of municipal concern, supersede general laws which are in conflict therewith.

That principle was firmly established by the three decisions, but in none of them did the court or the attorneys for either side attempt to define what is meant by "powers of local self government." Judge Schauck in the Toledo case said that the phrase might mean "such powers of government, as in view of their nature and the field of their operation, are local and municipal in character," but this added nothing to the definition in the phrase itself. In the Fitzgerald election case, Justice Johnson discussed how inclusive had been the grant of powers, but he did not attempt to establish any line of demarcation between municipal affairs and state affairs.

There are some limitations, he wrote, in article XVIII on the grant of all powers of local self government . . . but the inclusion of these limitations is a conclusive indication that the convention which framed

it was conscious of the wide scope of the powers which they were conferring upon cities of the state with reference to their local self government. . . . Not only this, but in connection with the comprehensive grant they disclose the intention to confer on municipalities all other powers of local self government which are not included in the limitations specified.

This is a sweeping grant of power, but it still leaves open the question, what are powers of local self government? The court had held each of the matters presented to it as affairs of local concern: method of nominating candidates and the form of ballots in municipal elections, the appointment of civil service commissioners, and the organization of the sinking fund commission, but in all three of these cases, this question was merely incidental to the question as to the conflict between state laws and city charters.

CONSENT CASE

The question, what are local affairs, however, became the dominant question in the last case which went up to the supreme court from Cleveland in the spring of 1915. The issue arose through an effort of a number of citizens living on Euclid avenue to prevent by injunction the laying of street railway tracks on that avenue between East 22nd street and East 40th street. The general code provides that no grant to lay such tracks can be given by a city council until "the written consent of the owners of more than one-half of the lots and lands abutting on the street or public way, along which it is proposed to construct such railway or extension thereof" has been filed with the council. The city charter, however, provides that no such consents "shall be required." An injunction was asked restraining the street railway company from laying the tracks on the ground that the city has no authority to grant such a franchise without consent of more than half the property owners. While the question at issue was as to whether the provisions of the statutes or of the city charter control in this case, the arguments of the plaintiff in claiming that the general statute controlled, was based essentially upon the principle that the power to grant a franchise is not a matter of local, but of state concern, and hence is governed by general statute and not by charter provision. In their brief the attorneys for the plaintiff said:

It is evident that there are powers which are in their nature such that they are state wide, as affecting the whole state, and cannot be controlled or affected by the action of the municipal body. . . . That the granting of franchises is a matter of state wide concern has been recognized uniformly by the courts and text writers. It is the state itself exercising its sovereign power which grants the special privilege known as a franchise . . . it is a function within the exclusive control of the legislative branch of the state government as a matter of general public or state wide interest and concern. . . . It cannot be claimed that the right to grant franchises is expressly conferred upon municipal

corporations, because the subject is not referred to in "the home rule amendment." Not only has the city no right to grant a franchise, the plaintiff argued, but it has no power to grant any right to occupy the streets. If there is one principle which from time immemorial has been recognized in this state, it is that the question of the occupancy and use of the public highways for the purposes of travel and the regulation of the modes of traffic thereon is a state wide matter vested in the whole people of Ohio, and is not local or municipal in character.

Mr. Stockwell, the director of law, as attorney for the defendant, contended in his brief that the "control of the uses to which the streets of a city may be put seems unquestionably to be more clearly a matter of local concern than the form of the ballot or the conduct of elections." In support of this view, a number of decisions from other home rule states, notably California, Minnesota, Oregon and Missouri were cited; and much stress was laid upon the fact that the amendment itself determines in section 13 the limitations upon the powers of local self government granted by the other sections of the article; and these limitations disclose the intention to confer on municipalities all other powers of local self government which are not included in the limitations specified.

Upon these arguments the court rendered a decision in favor of the defendant and the city. Unfortunately, the court has not yet handed down its written opinion. Whether it will attempt to define powers of local self government is yet to be seen. The definition by application has up to this time been satisfactory to the friends of the amendment; they feel sanguine that the courts cannot go very far afield in the future. Yet there are a number of important functions which are on the border line between state and local control which must come before the courts for determination and which offer the opportunity of restricting seriously the exercise of these powers of local self government.

Many citizens claim that in spite of these favorable decisions, we have only the hollow shell, not the substance of home rule. This view is based upon the fact that the amendment specifically places the control over local taxation and local indebtedness in the hands of the general assembly. There is some justification for this view, because the cities of Ohio are to-day in bad financial condition and are prevented from exercising many of the powers granted because of the stringent limitations on the rate of taxation fixed by a legislature dominated by the rural counties.

THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE IN CHARTER MAKING

Let us turn briefly to the application of the principle in the several cities which have sought to frame charters under the provisions of the home rule amendment. Since the amendment went into effect three years ago, twenty-six cities in Ohio have undertaken the task of securing

home rule charters. In ten of these cities charters have been framed and adopted. In six, charters were framed, but failed of approval when submitted to a vote of the people. In nine the people voted "no" on the question of choosing a charter commission, and in one, Lorain, the charter commission, after some deliberation, decided they could not improve on the existing form of government and so disbanded without submitting a charter. In the following cities charters have been framed but have been rejected by the people: Cincinnati, Youngstown, Akron, Canton, Ashland and Elyria. In the following, the people rejected the proposal to choose charter commissions: Zanesville, Norwood, Gallipolis, Amherst, Ironton, Jackson, Mansfield, Marietta, and Washington Court House. In the following, charters have been adopted and are now in operation: Cleveland, Columbus, Toledo, Dayton, Ashtabula, Springfield, Lakewood, Middletown, Sandusky and Salem.

Practically all of the charters have adopted the same general arrangement as to form which was followed in the Cleveland charter. Many of them have taken over bodily whole pages from the Cleveland document. But there are many variations in the form of government adopted. Cleveland, Columbus, Toledo and Lakewood have adopted modified federal plans with an elective mayor and council. Dayton, Ashtabula, Springfield and Sandusky have adopted the city manager plan; while Middletown and Salem have adopted the commission plan.

In those cities which have adopted the federal plan, there are many variations in details. For example, Cleveland has a council by wards, nominated by petition and elected by preferential ballot; Columbus, a council at large, nominated by petition and elected on ordinary rotating ballot; Toledo, a council by wards, nominated at a non-partisan elimination primary and elected on a preferential ballot with first and second choices. In those cities which adopted the city manager plan, are also found numerous variations. For example, Dayton provides for a council of five nominated at a non-partisan primary, in number double the number of places to be filled, and elected on a non-partisan rotary ballot; Sandusky, a council of five nominated by petition and elected on a non-partisan rotary ballot; while Ashtabula has a council of seven members nominated by petition and elected by the Hare system of proportional representation.

Not a single charter yet submitted in Ohio has provided for partisan primaries or partisan elections. All have provided for ballots without party designation. All of the charters adopted have provided for the initiative, referendum and recall. All have incorporated the merit system, and all have provided the short, or at least, a shorter ballot. In Cleveland the voter elects two officials, the mayor and a councilman from his ward; in Columbus, four, the mayor, councilman, city attorney and auditor; in Toledo, three, the mayor, vice-mayor and councilman; in

Dayton and Ashtabula, only the members of the council. All of the charters so far framed have followed the principle of brevity. Not as brief, it is true, as they should be, but in no city has a long charter containing the usual amount of legislation been submitted to the voters.

LEGISLATIVE CHARTERS

A word should be added regarding optional legislative charters. It will be recalled that the Ohio amendment permits the enactment by the legislature of optional forms of charters, any one of which can be adopted by a municipality upon a majority vote of the electorate. The Ohio municipal league submitted an act to the general assembly in 1914 containing three types of charters, the city manager, the commission and the federal plans. These were all prepared in the briefest possible form and provided for a non-partisan system of election, the short ballot, merit system, centralized authority and fixed responsibility. The legislature eliminated the non-partisan features; the municipal court provisions were stricken out, and other fundamental changes were made. The measure, as it finally passed, was so defective that we have urged cities not to adopt any one of these forms. Only one municipality, Westerville, a town of less than a thousand inhabitants, has taken advantage of this method of securing home rule; and judging from the tone of the letters from its mayor and city solicitor, this municipality is already regretting its action.

The attitude of the legislature toward this optional charter bill is a strong argument in favor of constitutional home rule and absolute freedom from legislative interference in local affairs. If Ohio cities were compelled to submit their home made charters to legislative approval, as was proposed in the recent home rule amendment submitted by the New York constitutional convention, these charters, in my opinion, would not be as progressive and modern as they are, and the cities would have no real home rule.

SUMMARY

Summing up, then, the experience of cities of Ohio in the exercise of these broad powers of local self-government granted in the constitution, it can be stated in brief as follows:

- (1) The courts have disposed of enough typical cases to justify the belief that Ohio cities have assured to them the broadest grant of local freedom of any cities of any state in the union.
- (2) The cities have been duly cautious in exercising this new freedom, only twenty-six of the eighty-two have attempted to change their forms of government, and only thirteen of these have succeeded.
- (3) The charters thus far framed have uniformly been more progressive and modern than the forms of government provided for in the general code.

- (4) The cities are well pleased with their new forms of government, and their new freedom, and there is no disposition to return to the old form of legislative bondage.
- (5) Municipal home rule in Ohio has already developed a more active interest in local affairs on the part of the electorate; and the campaigns for new charters and the process of framing and adopting them have acquainted the voters with the problems of municipal government as no other means of community activity and publicity could secure.
- (6) And lastly, municipal home rule has made Ohio a municipal laboratory where every new form of charter and every new governmental device for promoting economy and business-like efficiency in the administration of municipal affairs can be tried. The amending process is simple and easy, so that these laboratory experiments need not be continued longer than is necessary to prove their worth. And best of all, in the process of these experiments, the people of our cities are learning how to govern themselves, which, after all, is the essence of a democratic form of government.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF BRITISH CITIES

BY LE GRAND POWERS ¹
Washington, D. C.

VOLUME of comparative municipal statistics of great interest and importance has recently been issued by the London county council, under date of July 1915. It contains statistical data, for the fiscal year 1912, for London and fifteen other British cities: Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Bristol, Newcastle, Cardiff, Swansea, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, Belfast and Dublin.

The comparative municipal statistics for the sixteen cities mentioned are modeled after those which the London county council has issued for fifteen years under the title, London Statistics. The volume had its inception in the growing conviction of municipal authorities and social students throughout the world, expressed so well in the introduction by Sir Lawrence Gomme, the former clerk of the council, that "municipal statistics supply the only method of subjecting municipal administration to the test of figures." The work is a study in comparative municipal administration, and provides the best material so far obtainable for ascertaining the results of conducting the various services under municipal control. It seeks to present for the sixteen cities data similar in many respects to those which, since 1902, have been compiled by the United States census for the cities of this country having a population of 30,000 and over.

OBJECTS SOUGHT BY BRITISH STATISTICS

American students of municipal problems, including the officials of American cities, may well note the principal ends or purposes which London, and the other cities co-operating to produce this volume, believe will be attained or accomplished by the regular publication of these statistics. Those are set forth in the preface by Alderman Geoffry Drage, chairman of the sub-committee on statistics. He says that the "first object is to ascertain whether any economies may be effected by a yearly comparison of the costs of municipal services; or whether any standard of expenditures for particular services can be laid down even approximately," "A second object is the increase of efficiency in the management of the various municipal services." The third object is that of self defence, or the protection of the municipalities from the national government, which

bears the same relation to the cities in Great Britain that is borne by the several state governments in this country. By self defense is meant the guarding of the municipalities from undue exactions from the superior government in imposing functions upon them without bestowing sufficient grants or subventions in the form of exchequer contributions for properly maintaining the functions imposed. The fourth object is involved in the statement that "comparative municipal statistics are necessary in the interest of the reform of our local government which is rapidly becoming chaotic."

The facts set forth in the report with reference to the third and fourth objects are well worth consideration in the United States by all who are seeking to establish better relations between local and state governments, and generally to improve the conduct of governmental business. The Imperial Parliament and national governmental departments, it is said, are establishing in Great Britain new or enlarged national services, the costs of which are defrayed in part or wholly by the local governments, and the added duties and costs are threatening local bankruptcy. No statistics being compiled which adequately state these additional duties and their necessary costs, the municipalities can not at the present time make an adequate presentation of their rights and their just claims. Further, due principally to the piecemeal legislation of Great Britain, similar to that enacted by our several state governments, there are innumerable reforms required in the laws of rating and assessment, the poor law, the school law and other statutes affecting municipalities. Reforms can be brought about only when, and as, the local authorities can and do secure the necessary information. To provide some of that information is one of the objects of this volume.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN CITIES ORGANIZED AND CONDUCTED ON DIFFERENT BASES

British city governments are organized along somewhat different lines from those in the United States, and the cities in the two countries have but few services which are even approximately identical and for which local accounts or published statistics state expenses on comparable bases. Another important fact is that these London statistics are compiled on a widely different basis from that on which American municipal statistics of expenditure are prepared by city authorities and by the census. The statistics though fairly comparable as between the sixteen British cities, present but few data which are strictly or even approximately comparable with any data published in the American municipal statistics. Only three of the municipal services of British cities are known to be conducted on lines which are approximately the same as in the United States. They are the schools, the police and fire departments.

METHOD OF COMPARING GOVERNMENTAL COSTS IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN
CITIES

Before reviewing the expenditures of the British cities for these municipal activities or services, and comparing them with the corresponding expenses of American cities, it must be noted that the British statistics of municipal expenditures are compiled or arranged with the principal end in view of showing exactly for each governmental service and for the individual cities as governmental units, the portion of governmental costs which are, (1) borne by "rates," or taxes imposed upon real property corresponding in character somewhat to the general property tax of the United States; and (2) those which are met by "exchequer grants or contributions" corresponding to subventions or contributions by American states to aid in the support of local schools. Municipal expenditures not met from the revenues specified are not reported in detail; neither are the revenues from which they are paid. The British cities are in receipt of exchequer grants for quite a number of purposes, the amounts of which are stated in these statistics under four different heads. Under the circumstances mentioned, if it is desired to state the total or relative costs of British and American cities, as is done for American cities in the census statistics, we are met with the fact that the only approximately correct comparison possible is that with reference to the portion of these costs resting as a burden upon property. This is a comparison between (1) the so-called "net expenditures" of British cities, those expenditures met by "local rates" and from "exchequer grants," and (2) the amounts of revenue of American cities derived from property taxes and those received as subventions or grants from the national or state governments.

COMPARATIVE TOTAL COSTS OF CITY GOVERNMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

In 1912, London, with a population, as estimated by the method employed by the census for American cities, of 4,520,227, had net expenditures (those falling upon rates and exchequer grants) of £14,957,921. This amount includes expenditures for London proper and those of the London poor districts. The amount stated is approximately \$72,515,923, or \$16.04 per capita. Of the total and per capita, 83.2 per cent was chargeable to rates and the balance, 16.8 per cent, was met by exchequer contributions. No corresponding figures are available for what is known as Greater London. In the same year, 1912, New York city, with an estimated population of 5,064,237, collected for meeting local expenditures \$151,232,920 from property taxes and received as subventions from the state \$1,970,611. The sum of the two items is \$153,202,531. This is the amount of New York local expenditures met from the specified revenues, and thus corresponds approximately to the so-called "net

expenditures" of London met from rates and exchequer grants. It is \$30.25 per capita, or nearly twice the per capita net expenditures of London. Of the specified revenues of New York, 98.3 per cent was received from property taxes, and only 1.23 per cent from subventions, as compared with the corresponding percentages for London of 83.2 and 16.8, respectively.

In 1912 the population of the fifteen cities, other than London, for which the report gives statistics, if estimated by the method of the United States census, was 6,293,476. The report does not, however, state the total "net expenditures" for all of the fifteen, but only for Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Bristol, Newcastle, Cardiff, Swansea, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dublin. These twelve cities had an estimated population in 1912 of 5,572,616 or about 10 per cent more than New York and 20 per cent more than London. The average population of the twelve cities was 464,384. Birmingham, the most populous of the twelve, had at the 1911 census 840,202 inhabitants and the least populous, Swansea, had 114,663. The net expenditures of the twelve in 1912 were £12,409,930, or approximately \$60,163,340. This is \$10.79 per capita, or a little less than two thirds the corresponding average for London. The statistics thus give evidence of a tendency in Great Britain for municipal per capita expenditures to increase with the size of the cities, as is the case according to the census statistics with American cities.

The net expenditures of the twelve British cities may well be compared with the corresponding figures for two different groups of American cities. The first group includes the seventeen cities, other than New York, with a population exceeding 300,000. Their total population in 1912 was 10,977,864, and their average population was 645,756 or nearly 50 per cent greater than for the twelve British cities. Two of the seventeen, Chicago and Philadelphia are more populous than any of the twelve British cities. Their population was 2,294,711 and 1,606,102 respectively. For meeting their governmental costs the seventeen cities in 1912 collected from property taxes and received as subventions a total of \$220,-993,235. The specified revenues corresponding to the British revenues utilized in meeting the net expenditures of the twelve cities were \$20.13 per capita. This average, although only two thirds that of New York, was 25 per cent greater than the corresponding average of London and was about twice the corresponding average for the twelve second class British cities. Of the specified revenues of the seventeen cities, 92.22 per cent was derived from property taxes and 7.78 per cent from subventions.

As the average population of the seventeen American cities is about 50 per cent greater than that of the twelve British, it is well to note the results of a comparison of the British cities with the thirty-nine American

cities having a population exceeding 100,000, but less than 300,000. The total estimated population of the thirty-nine in 1912 was 6,053,814. This is an average of 155,489, or about one third that of the twelve British. For meeting their governmental costs these cities collected from property taxes, or received as subventions, a total of \$91,624,280. This is a per capita of \$15.13, or nearly as great as London and 50 per cent greater than for the twelve other British cities. The thirty-nine cities collected 91.13 per cent of their specified revenues from property taxes and received 8.87 per cent from subventions.

The fifty-six American cities, other than New York, considered in the preceding two comparisons, had in 1912 an aggregate population of 17,031,474, or an average of 304,133, as compared with an average of 464,384 for the twelve British cities. Their revenue receipts from property taxes and subventions corresponding roughly to the British rates and exchequer grants, were in 1912 \$312,617,515, or \$8.36 per capita. This average is about 70 per cent greater than the corresponding average for the twelve British cities and about 10 per cent greater than that for the populous city of London.

AMERICAN CITY EXPENSES GREATER THAN THOSE OF GREAT BRITAIN

The foregoing comparisons are very interesting, even though the figures reviewed are not strictly comparable and can not be made so with the data at hand. Those reading these comparisons should keep the fact of this non-comparability in mind. They should note on the one side that many American cities meet a portion, if not all the costs of their public improvements, such as lands, buildings, sewers and pavements, from property taxes and other revenues, while but few if any of such costs are met from British rates and exchequer grants. This difference in the method adopted for financing public improvements, of itself, tends to cause the foregoing comparisons to exaggerate the excess costs of American as compared with those of British cities. On the other hand, it should be noted that the British cities make practically no use of special assessments in financing current expenses or the costs of permanent improvements. This fact tends to cause the foregoing comparisons to understate the actual excess expenses of American cities as compared with those of the British. The census statistics of cities gives us a measure of the factor last mentioned affecting the accuracy of the comparisons made. For all the cities having a population of over 30,000 each, the revenue receipts, in 1912, from special assessments were \$2.45 per capita.

In this connection, attention should also be called to license and poll taxes. The American cities having over 30,000 inhabitants each received in 1912 in the two specified kinds of taxes a total which averaged \$1.97 per capita. The London statistics give no detailed exhibit of license

taxes and poll taxes collected by the British cities. If collected such taxes, like special assessments were considered offsets to the costs of governmental maintenance, or governmental expenses, and for that reason were deducted from the unstated gross expenditures to make the "net expenditures." The text of the London volume states that small amounts of miscellaneous taxes were received by the British cities, and that these were treated as set forth above. Their amounts are nowhere given, but it is certain that their total was much smaller on the average than the \$4.42 per capita contributed in 1912 by American taxpayers in the form of special assessments, and license and poll taxes. Taking these and all other factors of non-comparability into consideration, the conclusion is reached that the average costs of city governments resting upon the taxpayers in American cities is not less than 40 per cent and it may be as great as 70 per cent larger than the corresponding burden resting upon the taxpayers of the British cities.

LESSONS IN GOVERNMENTAL ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY

Here we have a statement of what Alderman Drage had in mind in stating the first object of the London report. American cities can learn through this report a lesson of economy from the British cities. Dr. Shaw and many others have called our attention in the last twenty years to the greater efficiency of the British cities. This modest volume brings home to us, as no other publication has, the fact that we have even more to learn from the British cities with reference to economy of administration than in efficiency of special services. It also shows the people of America how it subserves the second object for which it was conceived and completed: to increase efficiency. The figures reviewed demonstrate that the efficiency which produces economy in costs of government has been learned in British cities, and that Americans should study British methods for instruction in this economy.

The greater economy of municipal administration by British, as compared with that of American cities, shown in what the London statistics call "total net expenditures" for governmental maintenance and debt charges, is further illustrated by the statistics of the municipal services, or functional activities, for which the American and British reports present fairly comparable figures. A study of some of these statistics is well worth the time required. Attention is here called to the relative costs of the fire, police and school services of New York city and London, these being fairly typical of the same services in all American and British cities. A study of these, and especially those of the London and New York fire service, throw much light upon the reasons for the smaller relative costs of British than of American governmental maintenance.

LOW COSTS OF LONDON FIRE DEPARTMENT SERVICE

The cost of maintaining the London fire brigade, as the London fire department is called, in 1912 was only £254,310. This is about \$1,232,-892. This is an average cost per inhabitant of only \$0.29. This expenditure stands in marked contrast with the corresponding expense for maintaining the fire department of the city of New York. That expense in 1912 was \$15,036,192; a per capita average cost of \$2.97, or almost ten times as much as the corresponding average for London. The difference here noted in the costs of the London and New York fire services accounts for more than one fifth of the difference in the total costs of all governmental services to which attention has been called. This striking difference, if not contrast, needs to be considered in connection with other facts, which throw much light upon the problem of the relative economy of conducting or maintaining American and British cities.

London reported in 1912 a total of 5,753 calls to fire, or fire alarms. New York, according to the census reports, in the same year had 14,194, or nearly two and a half times as many. London in 1912 reported a total loss by fire in the city of £421,909 (which is equivalent to \$2,045,405) while the corresponding loss of New York city for 1912, the last year for which the United States census has reported the same, was \$11,827,994. Combining all the figures passed in review we secure the statement that, while the costs of the New York fire department are relatively ten times as great as those of the London fire brigade, the fires of New York are nearly two and a half times as numerous and the fire losses over five times those of London. These striking contrasts should be studied in connection of a number of other well known facts. Mention is here made of a few of them.

The city of New York has the most perfect and efficient fire fighting organization, as well as the costliest equipment of the kind in the world. Further its firemen have no superiors anywhere. Both the equipment and the firemen of New York are, by the judgment of all who have seen them at fires, vastly superior to those of London in the quickness with which the fire apparatus reaches fires and the efficiency shown in fighting fires. New York visitors in London witnessing fires are astonished at the poor showing made by the London fire brigade as compared with that of the New York fire department. But when these facts are joined to the fact that New York has relatively about two and a half times as many fires as London, and that its fire losses average not far from five times as much, we are approaching the fire problem of our cities from the British point of view and not that of the average American. We reach the point of approach to the modern fire problem which was gained many years ago by the late Edward Atkinson of Boston, Mass.

FIRE PREVENTION LESS EXPENSIVE THAN FIGHTING FIRES

Engaged in the business of operating or managing a large cotton factory, Atkinson was forced to pay an average annual insurance premium of 7 per cent of the amount of insurance obtained. This was so much greater than the corresponding premium of his British competitors that he was led to investigate the reasons therefor. He found that the actual hazard of cotton factories properly constructed and managed was only a small fraction of that which was then paid by American factories, that were constructed without regard to the risks created by faulty material and arrangement and were managed without reference to the risks resulting from allowing combustible and inflammable materials to accumulate in all parts of the establishment. Having ascertained these facts, Atkinson withdrew from the management of the cotton factory and began to organize his manufacturer's mutual insurance companies. These insured only those factories which were properly constructed to lessen fire risk, and which agreed to observe certain rules for avoiding the accumulation of inflammable materials in the factory and to provide certain apparatus for fighting fires. The construction and rules insisted upon were substantially those which are now insisted upon and enforced by the London fire brigade. The result of the work of Atkinson and his companies is that the premium rate of the Atkinson risks has been reduced for a series of years to not far from one tenth of their original proportions. This it is to be noted is substantially the difference between the average cost of maintaining the New York and London fire fighters.

In his crusade for preventing fires as a substitute for fighting them when started, Atkinson called attention to the fact that there was a North Carolina village of some considerable size which had not had a fire of any proportions for more than a century. This exemption had been secured by the applications of the London methods. The experience of the Atkinson insurance companies and of this isolated American village illustrate what the writer calls the British, and for that matter the German system, of approaching the fire problem. It is the approach from the side of fire prevention. The ordinary American approaches that problem from the side of fighting fires after they have started. The one avoids municipal expense and prevents fire losses and the other leads to large municipal expenses and results in large and unnecessary fire losses.

The facts about New York and London and the North Carolina village to which attention has been called, and the work of the late Edward Atkinson in the field of fire prevention, are the most forcible commentaries on the wisdom of the British course and the folly of the average American that is possible. The latter system leads to the added expense of supporting fire departments, purchasing costly equipment for fighting fires.

It results in many avoidable fires, makes unnecessary fire losses and lays an enormous added burden on the business community for insurance premiums. The tax in the last form laid upon New York as compared with London can not be less than one fourth the annual tax on real property levied in New York. It may approach one third the amount of that tax.

In presenting the foregoing comparisons and statements, the writer wishes to disclaim any criticism of the fire department officials of New York or any other American city. Such criticism would be especially unjust in the case of the fire chief of New York, who has done yeoman service in calling attention to the need of preventing as well as fighting fires. In our cities popular attention is still so fully directed towards, and concentrated upon the task of putting out fires that five fires are allowed to start where one should have shown its first spark. As he has studied the little volume of London statistics here reviewed, the writer has formed the hope if not the belief, that we are soon to have the beginning on this side of the Atlantic of a great change such as that for which Edward Atkinson so long worked. The appearance of this book will prove a potent factor in hastening that change. It will do this by providing the data for urging an American efficiency in fire prevention as a substitute for the existing costly efficiency in fighting fires which have been allowed to spring into blaze. The existing American efficiency is a business inefficiency and waste and true governmental economy and efficiency in the management of fire departments can come only with the social economy and efficiency which practically prevents fires.

The structures and personal property in New York city which are to be protected from loss by fires have a value of at least \$3,500,000,000,000 if not \$4,000,000,000. Properly to insure this property at the present time involves the payment of annual insurance premiums which aggregate from one fourth to one third the amounts paid each year in property taxes. The possible savings to the people of substituting the London for the existing New York fire efficiency is to save an amount equal to the total sum now paid for the maintenance of the fire department and all the present existing difference in the cost of maintaining the governments of the largest American and British cities. This is one of the lessons in governmental economy and efficiency which is brought home to the American people, and especially to those dwelling in cities and towns, by the publication of this little book of London statistics.

HIGH COSTS OF NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS

The London statistics state that the expenses of the public schools of London in 1912 were £4,942,003. This is approximately \$23,958,830, or a per capita expense of \$5.30. These costs are separately given under two heads: those for elementary and for secondary schools. Each of

these kinds of schools include some which are given other and specific designations, and hence the costs of both kinds of schools as reported in the volume of statistics include expenses for schools somewhat different in character. The reported costs of maintaining the London elementary schools in 1912 was £4,015,044 (the equivalent of \$19,464,933). The reported regular average attendance of these schools was 645,342. This is exclusive of the attendance of any schools whose expenses are included in the total expenses stated above. Disregarding that fact the figures seem to indicate an average expense in London elementary schools of \$3,016 for every one hundred pupils in regular attendance. Separate statements of the various classes of schools whose expenses, but not regular average attendance, are included in the figures quoted from the report would doubtless demonstrate that the foregoing average for one hundred pupils in regular attendance is larger than a correct average.

The total expenses of all the public schools of New York city in the year 1912, according to the census statistics of cities, was \$36,427,562, a per capita cost of \$6.53. The expenses of the elementary day schools were \$27,127,529. Those schools had a regular average attendance of 592,983 and the resulting average expense for every one hundred pupils in regular attendance was \$4,700. While the total cost per inhabitant in New York was only 23 per cent greater than that of London, owing to the greater average regular attendance, the cost per one hundred pupils in regular attendance was 55 per cent greater in New York than in London. More detailed figures for London school expense would doubtless exhibit a greater economy, in expense than that indicated by the percentage last given. Undoubtedly a portion of this difference, as in that of the fire service to which attention has previously been directed, is explainable by the lower average compensation of the governmental employes corresponding to the difference existing in the two countries in the average wages of all classes of industrial workers and the contrast which the two countries afford in the average standard of living of the toiling masses. This difference can not, however, be the cause of all the relative excess costs of educating elementary school pupils in the two cities. A part, and the largest one, of this excess must be due to the different methods of the American and British educators in approaching the problem of public education. The difference corresponds to the one set forth at length in preceding paragraphs concerning the municipal problem of adequate fire service. The writer is not so familiar with the educational problems and policies of the two countries that he is willing to attempt a statement of the different approach of the educators and governmental administrators of the two countries to the problem. He suggests, however, the desirability of some special study of the American and British school statistics, by one thoroughly in touch with the spirit of the educators of both lands. Such a study disclosing the different lines of approach to the educational problems in the two nations, by one sympathetic with both, will give new life and force to the statistics here reviewed and prove a profound lesson in school economy and genuine efficiency.

POLICE EXPENSES IN NEW YORK AND LONDON

The metropolitan police of London has long had a reputation of being as efficient as that of any city in the world. The proportional share of the city of London for the maintenance of the Metropolitan police is reported to be £1,660,285 (approximately \$8,049,062) or an average of \$1.78 for each inhabitant of the city. The corresponding total expense for the maintenance of the New York police in 1912 was \$15,036,192 or a per capita expense of \$2.97, or 67 per cent more than London. Substantially the same difference is shown between the expenses for the police of the two countries other than London and New York. The difference in the relative expense of maintaining the police of the two countries is therefore not greatly different from the cost of educating one hundred pupils in regular attendance in the schools of London and New York. A part of the difference is without doubt due to the average compensation of the employes in the two cities as in the case of the schools. The greater portion of the difference as in the case of the fire service results from the different ways the officials of the two countries approach the problem. The writer expresses the hope that with the issue of the present volume of comparative British municipal statistics, some investigator will not only tell us about the efficiency and economy of the London and other British police organizations, but bring out in strong lights the different ways in which the people of the two countries approach the problems of regulating traffic, restraining vice, and detecting and punishing crime.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN CITY DEBTS

The London report presents statistics of municipal indebtedness for all of the cities mentioned with the exception of Dublin. The form in which they are presented permits of a ready comparison with the corresponding statistics of American cities. The net funded debt of London, including that of the London poor districts, in 1912 was £113,279,486 (this is approximately \$549,178,984), an average indebtedness per inhabitant of \$121.49. Of this, 51.62 per cent was incurred for non-revenue producing purposes, as public buildings, sewers and pavements, and 48.38 per cent for revenue producing purposes, the most important of which were water supply systems and tramways.

The corresponding net funded indebtedness of New York city, by which is meant its funded and floating indebtedness, less the sinking funds accumulated for their final amortization, in 1912 was \$792,927,021. This was a per capita debt of \$156.57, or more than a third greater than the corresponding debt of London. Of the New York debt, 60.56 per

cent was incurred for non-revenue producing purposes and only 39.44 per cent for purposes producing revenue.

The fourteen British cities, other than London and Dublin, which had an aggregate estimated population in 1912 of 5,987,258, had a total net indebtedness, including that of their poor districts, of £137,337,675 (\$665,813,048), or \$111.21 per capita, or slightly less than the corresponding debt of London. Of the debts of the specified cities, the portions incurred for non-revenue producing and revenue producing purposes were 49.53 and 50.47 per cent respectively.

The seventeen cities of the United States, other than New York, with a population exceeding 300,000 each, had a net funded indebtedness in 1912 of \$657,989,550, a per capita of \$59.94, or only a trifle more than that of the fourteen British cities. The debt of these cities was incurred for non-revenue and revenue producing purposes in portions represented by 73.22 and 26.78 per cent respectively.

The per capita net indebtedness of New York resting upon the general taxpayer was not far from \$94.81 as compared with the corresponding debt of London of \$62.71. The former is about 50 per cent greater than the latter. The per capita debt of the fourteen British cities, other than London and Dublin, to be met by rates or real property taxes averaged \$55.08 while that of the seventeen American cities other than New York was \$43.89. The first comparison made, that for London and New York, indicated a greater indebtedness to be met by rates or property taxes on the part of the British city of 50 per cent. In contrast the corresponding debt of the fourteen other British cities was relatively 25 per cent greater than that of the seventeen American cities with which they were compared. The total net indebtedness of the eighteen American cities including New York aggregated \$1,450,916,571 and that of the fifteen British cities, including London, but excluding Dublin, was \$1,214,992,032. Of the debt first mentioned 28 per cent was incurred for revenue producing purposes, while the corresponding portion of the British city debt was about 50 per cent. The per capita net debt resting upon the taxpayers and to be met from general property taxes in the United States was about \$60, while the corresponding debt of the British cities was \$58. The British have a slight advantage, but nothing such as might legitimately have been expected from the greater relative cost of operating American city governments to which attention has been called.

BRITISH STATISTICS OF LEGITIMATE AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

With the profound interest which has been aroused in the United States by the "purity" movement, great interest attaches to the figures of the London volume relating to the number of legitimate and illegitimate children born in the several British cities. From the figures presented in the specified volume, computations show the following number of illegitimate births to every 10,000 legitimate children born.

Swansea	291	Belfast	431
Bristol	301	Sheffield	437
Birmingham	338	Newcastle	457
Liverpool	367	Leeds	563
Cardiff	369	Glasgow	726
London	384	Edinburgh	802
Dublin	384	Dundee	926
Manchester	401	Aberdeen	1,042

The Welsh cities and certain English cities make the best showing and the Scottish the worst. The figures for the Scottish cities are very striking to the average American not familiar with certain social conditions that have long prevailed in rural Scotland. They suggest the need of an American social survey to prevent the development of like social conditions in this country.

NEED OF MORE COMPREHENSIVE AMERICAN CITY STATISTICS

The London volume is suggestive, not only in the ways pointed out, but also in many others. One of the most valuable features of the book is its inclusion of such population statistics as those relating to families, dwellings, sex, age and occupation of the city dwellers; such vital statistics as those of births, deaths, causes of death, etc.; port statistics; rates of wages: rents of tenements and other subjects. The United States census gathers and publishes the great mass of these statistics, but has never included them in its reports of municipal statistics. To find them as they are now presented, the student of municipal affairs must look through a number of ponderous volumes. The London report here reviewed demonstrates that these general statistics take on an added importance and value and become something more than dull figures when collected in a report dealing exclusively with city affairs and municipal problems. The London volume thus becomes the basis for the suggestion that the bureau of the census should materially broaden the scope of city statistics. is a great and pressing need for broader and better municipal statistics in the United States than any as yet presented for the American people.

City officials and students of municipal problems should awake to the great importance of the city in American life. Needed reforms can not be secured because there is a lack of definite and detailed statistical information relating to cities. City problems are already more important and pressing for solution in America than are those of the farm. This fact is overlooked by our general government. This condition of affairs should not and can not always continue. Sometime it will be seen that it is as important for civilization and human welfare to look after the

city babies as the country calves and pigs, and that the national government which now spends millions of dollars for the protection and advancement of agricultural interests should do as much for the promotion of the interests which have their centre in the proper management of great cities and the protection of those dwelling and toiling there. Shall we not hope, therefore, for a change in the attitude of the national government with reference to city affairs, and especially with reference to city statistics? Shall we not work for, as well as hope for, a broad and scientific enlargement of the scope, field and treatment of census city statistics? Such statistics are the best possible basis for the reforms in city administration which must come in America as Alderman Drage says that they must come in Great Britain. Those reforms are delayed and will continue to be delayed until the information needed for their consumation is provided in the form of the scientific and broader city statistics for which the London volume in part points the way.

STANDARDIZATION OF SALARIES IN AMERICAN CITIES

BY WILLIAM C. BEYER¹

Philadelphia

TANDARDIZATION of salaries forms an essential part of two distinct programs for improving the effectiveness of public administration. One is that of civil service reform which aims primarily to increase the efficiency of the personnel charged with carrying out the administrative functions of government. Civil service commissions throughout the country have come to realize that the merit principle cannot be applied fairly and effectively to promotions within the public service unless something is done to correct the confusion and chaos on the average city payroll.

The other program is that of the efficiency movement which concentrates attention mainly on procedure and method. The processes of internal administration are examined and readjusted to effect greater efficiency and economy in the operation of government. Budget making, accounting methods, purchasing procedure and similar matters of administration have been made subjects of inquiry and constructive study by efficiency bodies in many of our larger cities. Since the amount of money spent for personal service usually constitutes the biggest single item in a city's annual outlays, it is only natural that the payroll should be subjected to similar scrutiny and revision.

It will be of interest to inquire briefly what this scrutiny has revealed and what is being done to correct the evils discovered.

One of the shortcomings found in most American cities is that salaries are fixed without sufficient knowledge of the duties of positions. As a rule the legislative body is required to pass upon requests for changes in the payroll without any basis of information for determining the reasonableness of such requests except the representations of department heads and the titles of the positions under consideration. The limitations of following implicitly the recommendations of department heads are obvious at once. Too much is made to depend upon these officials who may be acting under strong personal or political pressure. Titles, in their turn, are often misleading and cannot be relied upon to indicate the character and importance of the posts to which they are attached. To illustrate: Anyone, upon glancing down the payroll of a certain Eastern city and coming to the title "superintendent of L——— Park," would naturally suppose that this official had custody of a park at some distance from the center of the city and was charged with considerable responsibility;

¹ Of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.

further inquiry would disclose the fact that he was employed as a clerk in one of the offices at the city hall and had nothing whatever to do with the management of any park. The average legislator, however, has not the time to make a personal investigation of each case of this character that comes before him during the busy budget making season when salary ordinances are usually considered. The result is that in the majority of instances he is compelled to act without adequate information about the positions in which changes are contemplated.

CONSIDERING SERVICE IN ITS ENTIRETY

Another imperfection in the usual method of fixing salaries is the absence of opportunity to consider the service in its entirety and to secure uniformity in the standards of compensation in the different branches of government. As a rule the salary needs of each department are considered by themselves and with slight regard to those of other departments. Little effort is made to consider positions in groups and to confine rates of pay for similar employments within definite ranges. Too often the fact that Jones happens to occupy a certain position has greater weight in determining the amount of salary than the character and grade of duties which the position involves. In consequence of these conditions we find on municipal payrolls the most glaring discrepancies and irregularities in the salary rates for the same kinds of service.

A third criticism that should be mentioned is the fact that, for the most part, no distinction in salary is made between an employe who has had long experience in a certain position and a new appointe who is wholly unfamiliar with the work. Obviously a clerk who is worth \$900 at the start ought to be worth considerably more at the end of several years of satisfactory service, and to leave his salary unchanged is doing him an injustice which may dampen his enthusiasm and ultimately reduce his efficiency. If, on the other hand, he begins at \$900 and is worth no more after having held the position for two or three years, then it is fair to assume that he was overpaid in the beginning. In either case the employe is robbed of incentive by having to continue at the same rate of pay year after year and the entire force suffers from the demoralizing effect of such an unfair method of compensation. The corollary of this practice is to increase salaries in isolated instances to reward long and faithful service, and then to leave them unchanged for inexperienced successors when vacancies occur. The taxpayer, of course, must foot the bill.

Bearing in mind the unscientific and haphazard methods by which salaries are usually fixed, what can be said for a scheme of promotion which is based on a grading of positions according to rates of compensation? Manifestly, it could not be more scientific nor more equitable than the salary rates themselves. Yet, until very recently, all civil service classifications in this country were based on compensation, and

the majority of them are on that basis still. Since salaries and duties in most cities are not necessarily co-ordinate, it is possible under such a classification that promotion in grade and salary might mean actual demotion in character of work, and vice versa. Moreover, the misleading titles are as harassing to civil service commissions in their endeavor to fit the man to the job as they are to appropriating bodies when salary changes are being considered. It goes without saying that in those branches of public service in which the primeval chaos still remains undisturbed, it is difficult for employes, or even civil service administrators, to discover many real lines of promotion. Blind alleys far outnumber the open avenues to higher employments. The result is that employes become discouraged and lose all interest and zeal in their work.

CHICAGO'S EXPERIMENTS

The first notable effort to correct these conditions was made recently in Chicago. In 1908 the civil service commission of that city enlisted the co-operation of the city council in a standardization program which embraced, among other things, the reclassification of the service according to duties and the adoption of uniform salary rates for similar positions. Early in the following year, Mayor Busse appointed the municipal efficiency commission which acted for a time as the co-ordinating force between the civil service body and the city council in working out the details of the program. Later this commission was superseded by the efficiency division of the civil service commission itself. By the end of 1910 the reclassification of positions was practically completed and a beginning had been made on the adjustment of salaries to the new grades, which was continued during 1911. On July 15, 1912, the city council passed an ordinance which gave official recognition to the standardization scheme adopted by the civil service commission. Since that time the annual appropriations for salaries have been made in accordance with the provisions of this scheme.

The outstanding features of the Chicago standardization may be stated briefly as follows: First, all positions under civil service rules are classified, according to the general character of the duties involved, into eleven distinct classes, known as the medical, engineering, clerical, police, operating engineering, fire, library, inspection, supervising, skilled labor, and labor services. Second, the positions in each distinct class, or service, are divided into grades according to their relative authority, importance and responsibility. Third, for each grade a salary schedule is established providing minimum, maximum and intermediate rates that apply uniformly to all positions within the grade. Fourth, promotion from a lower to a higher grade is made subject to a competitive promotion examination, but advancement from a lower salary rate to the next higher rate within a grade is made to depend on efficiency and length of service.

Fifth, efficiency of employes is ascertained from efficiency markings reported regularly by department heads in accordance with instructions submitted to them by the civil service commission. Sixth, titles of positions are standardized and made descriptive of actual duties. ²

Since Chicago did its pioneer work in salary standardization a number of other cities have undertaken similar programs. Portland, Oregon, several years ago worked out a standardization which is substantially the same as that of Chicago and is now partially in effect. In 1914 Houston, Texas, adopted practically a reproduction of the Chicago scheme. During the last two years Oakland, California, has reclassified its service on the basis of duties and is gradually putting into effect a standardization that varies but slightly from its Chicago pattern. On October 30, 1915, St. Paul took a similar step and now has in force a standardization ordinance which in the main is a copy of the same original that the other cities have followed.

THE LOS ANGELES AND PITTSBURGH VARIATIONS

During 1914 Los Angeles county, California, and Pittsburgh, have adopted standardization measures that vary more widely from the Chicago model. Both Los Angeles county and Pittsburgh have made a more searching analysis of the service than is found in any previous classification. Instead of grouping the many different lines of municipal employment into eleven broad classes, as Chicago has done, and then subjecting all the employments in each of these classes to the same grading and scale of compensation, Los Angeles county has made it possible to deal independently with individual lines of work by increasing the number of subdivisions of the service to upwards of fifty. The same departure from former methods is found in the Pittsburgh classification. The Los Angeles standardization, moreover, does not provide for efficiency markings to determine advancement from a lower to a higher salary rate. The first increase comes automatically after one year's service and subsequent increases are made after investigation and favorable recommendation by the bureau of efficiency of the civil service commission. Another noteworthy variation from the Chicago idea is the attempt by Pittsburgh to standardize requirements for admission to each distinct grade of service. Chicago has standard requirements for individual positions, but not for grades.

A number of other cities are engaged at the present time on standardization programs. New York City has well under way the most monumental task of standardization yet attempted in this country.³ Philadelphia

² See National Municipal Review, vol. iv, p. 662.

³ Late in February, after this article had gone to press, the New York Bureau of Municipal Research published an extended discussion under the caption "Standardization of Public Employments" in the issue of *Municipal Research* dated November, 1915.

and Milwaukee are both engaged in a study of the salary problem, the latter city having rejected a standardization measure in 1913. Similar studies are being carried on by a number of states, among them Ohio, New York and Wisconsin.

A review of various standardization plans, either already in force or now under consideration, reveals a development of ideas common to them all rather than revolutionary departures in fundamentals. All involve a classification of service on the basis of duties; all provide for a simplification and standardization of titles; all assume the application of the merit principle in determining promotion from grade to grade; and all recognize the importance of providing opportunity for advancement in salary even when no change in position or grade has taken place. Development appears principally in the more scientific character of later classifications. In this respect the high water mark thus far probably has been reached by New York City. Its classification and grade specifications not only go into greater detail than any previous effort along this line, but also achieve a degree of administrative flexibility that has been attained by few other standardizations. The New York plan also includes a standardization of requirements similar to that of Pittsburgh.

INCREASES WITHIN GRADES

There is one aspect of the problem, however, with regard to which we find less unanimity of opinion, and that is the manner of advancing employes to higher salary rates within grades. Three different methods of accomplishing this may be distinguished: First, by making increases automatic at the expiration of fixed periods of time, regardless of the efficiency of the service rendered; second, by making increases dependent upon efficiency, measured by a system of efficiency marking; third, by basing legislative action regarding increases upon special investigation and recommendation by efficiency bureaus.

The first of these methods, that of increasing salaries automatically regardless of efficiency, is open to serious objection. It makes no distinction between employes who have given unusual satisfaction in the performance of duty and employes who have simply managed to hold their jobs. It is preferable, however, to the flat salary rate which permits of no increases whatever. The Los Angeles standardization provides for automatic advancement in case of first increase only, and no other standardization embodies this method even in limited measure.

The second method, which includes the factor of efficiency ascertained by a system of efficiency marking, is theoretically more nearly correct, but practically more difficult to apply. The idea of keeping record of the efficiency of employes is not entirely new, and in most instances where it has been tried it has fallen short of expectations. Too often these records are kept in a perfunctory manner and prove of little value for administrative purposes. Even where they are kept conscientiously, it is difficult to reconcile the markings of different officials who rate employes according to widely varying standards. The theory of efficiency records is sufficiently appealing, however, to warrant further experimentation, and practically every city that has adopted standardization measures has shown its disposition to experiment. Chicago has worked out an elaborate system of efficiency marking which has achieved a certain degree of success. Other cities are adapting the Chicago idea to their local needs. In time, no doubt, improvements will be effected that will make the system a more helpful instrument for determining individual efficiency than it is at present.

The third method, that of basing legislative action regarding increases on investigation and recommendation by efficiency bureaus, is an important feature in the standardizations of Los Angeles and of New York City. In the former it is applied to advancement from the second salary rate to the third, and final, rate; while in the latter it often applies to all increases. In the New York City standardization, however, this method is only supplemental to efficiency markings maintained under the rules of the civil service commission, whereas in Los Angeles county it is the sole means of ascertaining the efficiency factor in advancement. How satisfactory this method will prove still remains to be seen. Naturally a great deal will depend on the amount of freedom which efficiency bodies will enjoy in making their investigations and recommendations.

These and other problems involved in salary standardization no doubt will be simplified by the experience of coming years. At this stage it is enough to know that however imperfect certain methods may be, they are nevertheless vastly superior to the unsystematic practices which they are designed to displace.

The entire standardization movement is still so new that sweeping generalizations with regard to past experience are hardly in order. Even Chicago, the first city to adopt a standardization measure, has had less than six years' experience in administering it. Nevertheless it is quite well established that an immense improvement has been effected in the civil service of that city. No official who is familiar with conditions both prior to and since the adoption of the standardization seems willing to return to the old order. Dire predictions that the total annual outlays for salaries would be increased enormously by the new schedules have not come true. In a large measure the question of compensation for personal service has been taken out of the realm of the lobby and placed on a scientific basis. Whatever shortcomings there may be in the present method of fixing salaries in Chicago they do not compare with the unintelligent blundering and absence of system of former years.

In general we may say that the standardization program accomplishes its main purposes in an acceptable manner. While it is not a panacea,

it does much to correct conditions that have been so largely responsible for the unattractive character of municipal service in the past. It aims primarily to improve the administrative methods of utilizing human energy to the best advantage of both employes and the service. To that end it simplifies the problem of the legislative body by making available to legislators complete and reliable information to guide them in passing on salary changes. The wide discrepancies in rates of pay for similar positions, unavoidable under the old methods and which proved so demoralizing to employes, can no longer appear if the standardization is adhered to in appropriations. At the same time the way is paved for a more flexible adjustment of salaries to individual needs than was formerly the case. The problem of the civil service commission also is simplified. A classification of service based on duties and providing proper grades for advancement makes possible a more equitable system of promotion than could obtain under the old grading scheme with haphazard salary rates as a basis. These improvements in the methods of dealing with the employment situation are bound in time to work salutary changes in the general tone and character of our municipal service.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION: A FUNDAMENTAL OR A FAD?

BY HERMAN G. JAMES, J.D., PH.D.

University of Texas

ITH the adoption by Ashtabula, Ohio, of a plan of proportional representation¹ and the widespread publicity accorded to the first election recently held under that plan, it becomes necessary to consider seriously what attitude the friends of municipal improvement should take toward this innovation. As long as the matter was merely the subject of theoretical discussion and propaganda by those actively interested in the proportional representation movement it did not present a living issue. Owing, however, to the imitative instinct which has played so large a part in the history of municipal government in this country, the actual adoption by an American city of the plan in question makes it a real issue which must be faced at once by those who are leaders in moulding public opinion along lines of municipal progress.

The advantages claimed for the plan of electing a city council by proportional representation have been so adequately set forth in the pages of the National Municipal Review and in publications of the National Proportional Representation League that it is unnecessary to repeat them here, except as they arise in a consideration of the possible disadvantages of the system. It would seem that the objections or possible objections to the latest innovation may conveniently be classified under three heads: theoretical, legal, and practical.

THE THEORETICAL OBJECTIONS

The most fundamental objections to the scheme of proportional representation are of course those that go to the question of the theory of the plan. Briefly stated the argument in favor of proportional representation rests on the theory that all shades of political opinion that are held by an appreciable number of the electors should have representation in the legislative body. To put it more concretely, every group of electors should be permitted to choose a proportion of the legislative body as nearly equal as possible to the ratio that their vote bears to the entire vote cast. In this way, it is claimed, there will be reflected in the council every important shade of political opinion that exists in the community, and the action of the council will represent in the end the composite of the opinions of the electorate, instead of merely the opinion of the majority.

Now that proposition, if true, sounds attractive. But is it true? Let us consider first the case of a truly representative, as distinguished from a primary, city government, that is, one in which all matters of policy are determined by elective representatives without the use of the referendum or initiative. It is at once apparent that the action of such a body cannot be completely representative in the sense that the advocates of proportional representation demand. Even if the various councilors are elected by well defined and organized groups of persons, that is, virtually by more or less permanent political parties, they cannot be instructed on every question of policy that may arise before the council. On such questions they must of course act according to their own convictions, which as experience shows are by no means necessarily in accord with the opinions of their constituents on those points. Unless, therefore, there is a party boss, or ring, or executive committee by whose determinations both the group of voters and the councilor will be governed—a situation against the evils of which all municipal reformers have been preaching—they cannot reflect the opinion of their constituents on such points. This is true, if for no other reason, because of the simple fact that no group of persons think alike on more than one or two important questions of policy. This being the situation in the case where a well defined majority or minority has elected a councilor, how much greater will be the difficulty of having a councilor reflect the opinions of his constituents when he is chosen by an undefined, unknown and temporary group of electors. Yet this is exactly what the Hare system of proportional representation will result in and indeed it is one of the advantages claimed for the system by its advocates, viz that it tends to help the independent candidate who is backed by no organization, but can get the necessary quotient by reason of personal qualifications. How can a councilor elected by, let us say, one tenth of the voters of a city, not knowing who his electors were or what policies they represent, reflect the political opinions of anyone but himself?

Furthermore, whatever may be said of the value of having all the important shades of political opinion voiced in the council, and that we have seen is not possible either under the proportional representation plan or under any other scheme, the fact remains that all action, all legislation must be by majorities. However lengthy and careful may be the discussion, however many conflicting points of view may be brought out, however ably the interests of minorities are presented, the final action is and must be action by majorities. There is and can be no way in which minorities can appear in the final action. Only two sides then appear with regard to any action taken, the majority who voted for it and the minority who voted against it. Minor groups, those whose interests are supposed to be safeguarded by the scheme of proportional representation all line up at the "show down" in one or the other of

these two parts. Their only chance for effective expression lies therefore in the possibility of forcing some compromise in the measure before final vote. If, however, the various members of the council really reflected the political convictions of a definite group of voters, and that is the hypothesis of the advocates of proportional representation, a compromise measure inevitably means that none of the representatives any longer exactly reflected the supposedly known wishes of his constituents. Obviously there is not the slightest assurance that the concessions made in the process of compromise are those which would be approved by the group to which the councilor owes his election. When it is remembered that the tendency of municipal voters to break away from state and national party affiliations is increasing and is being encouraged by almost all municipal reformers, it can readily be seen that the normal composition of a council say of ten members elected under the Hare system of proportional representation would tend to represent a number of more or less equal minority groups. That means of course that no legislation could be effected wholly in accord with the wishes of any of the constituencies and that all legislation would be compromises between conflicting opinions. The more truly the councilors reflect the conflicting interests of the constituencies, the ideal of the proportional representation advocates, the more difficult does the process of legislation become and the more unsatisfactory will the finally inevitable compromises prove. What becomes now of the chief contention of the advocates of this scheme that under it you have a true reflection of the composite political wisdom, or stupidity, of the electorate?

Let us look now at the situation when we no longer have the true representative type of government for cities, that is when we introduce as working elements the initiative and the referendum. The chief advocates of proportional representation in this country are also supporters of the initiative and referendum and it is a safe guess that no city will adopt the wholly novel—for American cities—plan of proportional representation which has not been willing to introduce the now widely used and quite familiar devices of direct legislation. We may therefore regard the combination of proportional representation with direct legislation as the normal case. Now direct legislation does undoubtedly offer a theoretical remedy for the evil of incomplete representation, not only in the extreme cases where representatives willingly disregard the known wishes of the electorate, but also in the normal cases where those wishes have not been ascertained or where, as under proportional representation is especially likely, the council's action must be a compromise. For this kind of incomplete representation, inevitable non-representation we may call it, the instruments of direct legislation offer a possibility of remedy by direct submission of concrete simple proposals to the electors. Even here, as every student of direct legislation knows, it is next to impossible

to have initiative and referendum measures so framed that every voter can either entirely agree or disagree with them. However that may be, the tendency will inevitably be toward relying more and more on this form of remedy for the evil of incomplete representation in regard to all important questions of policy that may arise, whenever it is realized that the representatives of the various minority groups in the city are powerless to put through their program of policies. The advocates of proportional representation, standing on the ground of desiring a more complete reflection of the political opinions of the electors, must if they are consistent welcome the application of this remedy. But with the increased application of this remedy for incomplete representation, there is a continual diminution in the policy determining function of the council until it degenerates into a mere board of supervisors for the city manager. What need then for an elaborate and complicated election procedure intended to insure a reflection of the political opinions of groups of electors when those opinions are in important matters applied directly and are no longer reflected?

We conclude therefore that the dreams of the proportional representation advocates are not possible of realization under any form of representative government, and that under the system of direct government which we are rapidly approaching and which they endorse, important questions of policy are no longer left to the decision of the representative body anyway. Under those circumstances the only issue in the choice of candidates is one of personality and character. The ordinary preferential ballot insures that the successful candidates for election to the council will be acceptable to a majority of the voters either as first, second or third choices, or to as near a majority as can ever be obtained. The proportional representation plan insures and boasts of insuring that if there are ten councilors to be elected any candidate who can muster a number of first choices equal to one tenth of the vote cast is entitled to a seat. If, therefore, under the case supposed there is one tenth of the city electorate that is law-breaking, corrupt and disgraceful the proportional representation plan insures their representative a seat in the council. That is a kind of democracy which I, for one, cannot endorse. Under the ordinary preferential ballot it would be necessary to have not one tenth merely but a majority of the electors in the city in favor of disgraceful candidates before they could be elected. But if that is the situation in any city, Heaven help it! No human scheme of government could be of any value.

LEGAL AND PRACTICAL OBJECTIONS

The limited space available precludes an extended discussion of the legal and practical objections that were stated to exist at the outset. It

will be possible merely to point out that they do exist. In view of the fact that a state supreme court has held the preferential ballot to constitute an unconstitutional limitation of the freedom of voting, a wholly senseless and unsound decision it is true, but nevertheless an authority for that view, it seems reasonably certain that the proportional representation plan that would limit the voters to casting one first choice for a council at an election in which a number of councillors are to be elected would be declared unconstitutional. Certainly such a holding would have much more to justify it than did the holding with regard to the simple preferential ballot.

As practical objections there may be urged, in the first place, the unavoidably complicated description of the voting process, which is quite unintelligible to persons of much higher intelligence than that of the average voter without very careful examination. This means that the average voter will have to take the results of the system of counting on faith and naturally many will be sceptical and suspicious and so far from having their interest in voting increased it will be decreased. Secondly, the complicated voting process makes the recount of the ballots in large voting districts very much more difficult. It is quite impossible to note the effects of even gross election frauds on the face of the returns with this plan and if the election officers are corrupt, their corruption is much more difficult to discover. Third, a satisfactory working of the recall, if such a thing is possible, has certainly not been worked out under this system of election. Finally, it may be urged that even should we grant all that enthusiastic advocates claim for this system, it is strategically unwise for the supporters of good city government to advocate at this time so radical a change in the manner of constituting the governing bodies of our cities. Two years after the National Municipal League declared itself in favor of a mayor and council form of government in the municipal program of 1899 commission government came into existence and received the enthusiastic support of municipal reformers. Some ten years later the city manager plan began to be offered as an improvement on commission government, and now before the latest development has been given a chance to prove or disprove itself, reformers are advocating another departure. Small wonder that many persons are confused by this apparent vacillation and accuse municipal reformers of not knowing their own minds. Much better would it be for the cause of municipal reform if all efforts were concentrated on urging the commission manager plan in its present form until its value has been recognized, before we muddle matters more by asserting that the plan which has received such general approbation be modified by a new departure, even granting that the departure advocated were capable of accomplishing everything that its advocates claim for it.

SHORT ARTICLES

WHAT IS CIVIC EDUCATION?

BY EDWARD A. FITZPATRICK ¹

Madison, Wis.

ORE is written about the subject of civic education perhaps than any other phase of education. Yet one does not find anywhere a generally accepted definition of the term. this civic education? In a National Education Association report on the teaching of community civics, the subject of civic education is made to include practically every phase of the question, how to live. In that sense there is absolutely no distinction between civic education and education in general, and this identification of the term dissipates the problem. Without attempting any specific definition, I shall understand civic education as that which helps to make a man a useful citizen. From the basic meaning of the term it relates itself to the city, and particularly from our standpoint to the city government. But unfortunately most of the civics taught in our elementary schools and high schools and in the universities of the country deals with the state and the nation. The city is an incidental concern, and yet from every standpoint of life and of our education the city is the fundamental phase of government. It is a phase of government with which every individual comes in direct contact. It is the only phase of government in which civic education can be said to deal with the community life. The state is not a community, nor is the nation in any genuine sense of these terms. The state and the nation are merely more or less artificial things compared to the city. They are merely the over-head charges of the city government. It is unfortunate that this over-head charge is so excessive and occupies most of our time in education.

If you have ever visited a court where persons are taken in as citizens you have probably been surprised by the formal character of the questions asked by the learned judge. These questions, practically in all cases, relate to the national government, and not to the national government as a living, functioning thing, but as the formally organized thing of our federal constitution. This examination ought to be totally changed and made to deal entirely, or at least to a considerable degree, with the city.

The courses of study that have been outlined by the various committees that have been working on the subject have not dealt with the concrete

¹ Abstract of remarks of Edward A. Fitzpatrick at the meeting of the National Municipal League at Dayton, November 18, 1915.

action of communities, but with the abstract, logical, adult analysis of such things as elements of welfare.

AMERICANIZATION, THE NEW CIVIC CATCHWORD

The favorite catchword of our present efforts in civic education is "Americanization." We must Americanize and we are planning to spend a very great deal of money and effort in Americanizing. Americanize whom? The immigrant! Those who were in attendance at the meeting of urban universities in Cincinnati heard a very convincing analysis of the citizenship of our cities. We were told that there was from 5 to 10 per cent of active interest by the public at one end. At the other end there was from 10 to 20 per cent active interest in government by people who wanted to get something out of it, and there was in between 70 per cent of citizen indifference. If Americanization means anything as a civic movement, which at the present time is its sole meaning, then we ought to Americanize this 70 per cent lump of citizen indifference.

BUREAUS OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH AND CIVIC EDUCATION

Ten years ago to-morrow there was established in New York City the bureau of municipal research, and that movement has extended, as you know, all over the country. It was premised on the proposition that it was an agency for the civic education of adults. Publicity was of its essence, and the reiterated publicity of facts about government was to be the primary means of awakening citizens to a demand for improved public administration. Now that movement is ship-wrecked, and has become largely a private agreement between the board of trustees of the bureau and the city officials in whose office the work was carried on without even letting the public know what was being done; and sometimes a bureau is practically supported by a single individual. Two things will help the municipal research movement: a wider basis of citizen support and a frank taking of the citizenship into its confidence.

CIVIC EDUCATION AND THE COMMON SCHOOL

The great trouble with the whole civic movement is that it has concentrated its efforts on a single instrumentality, the common school. The effort is to make that the instrument of civic education. Fortunately, that is where such a movement must begin, but as a single means it misses the great opportunity. We are told by a competent authority that not very many more than 25 per cent of the children who enter school in this country actually survive the sixth grade. We are told by another student of education that half of the children of the schools leave between the ages of 13 and 15. If this vast mass of children leave the common schools before they get any real civic education, then those interested in civic education ought to look to supplementary means.

CONTINUATION SCHOOLS AS AGENCIES OF CIVIC EDUCATION

One of the most significant of these is the continuation school, particularly as it has been developed in the state of Wisconsin. By the law creating these schools, citizenship is specifically required as a subject of study. There come to these schools our educationally disinherited children. No special courses of study, no technique, no teachers trained to give them adequate conception of citizenship, are now available. Wisconsin is working heroically at the problem. Interest in civic education is here an immediate and pressing duty.

The state of Wisconsin originally required children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen to attend these schools out of the employers' time. At the last session of the legislature this time was extended to seventeen years of age. This is the period of adolescence—what psychologists call the golden age, the age of the deepest emotional impressions. To give direction at this time to the new life energies that will be unleashed is to determine in a very great degree the fundamental welfare of these children—and the welfare of the community in which they live.

COLLEGE AND CIVIC EDUCATION

A group of college professors representing the American Political Science Association told us in so many words that "the large amount of time and emphasis given to the study of such subjects as general political science, comparative government and international law shows that foreign affairs receive more attention than do home affairs." And again: "The function of college instruction in politics is to train for citizenship as well as to train for the professions. In performing this function colleges too frequently confine attention almost exclusively to the theories of the origin of the state and the nature of law and sovereignty, in fact, to a consideration of abstract notions and principles which find scant place in the actual operation of governmental affairs." And finally, that "students of politics like those of other fields have been inclined to philosophize and work out abstract principles rather than to search laboriously the records and activities of society in its myriad and complex operations." They said also that the colleges of the country ought to avail themselves of the many opportunities of service to their communities and that bureaus of governmental reference and research ought to be established. The exact words are: "that the department of political science furnish aid and be in readiness, in equipment and spirit, to render advice to government officials not only in the making and enforcing of laws but also in extending assistance in whatever special fields the instructors in the departments are competently equipped." At least some of the college professors are beginning to realize the social obligations of the university and the immediate opportunity in the field of civic education.

CIVIC EDUCATION AND SCHOOL TEACHERS

An article in one of the English quarterlies made the comment that "the school teachers are the least civic of men." An editorial in *The Survey* recently pointed out certain civic shortcomings of teachers. The opportunity of normal schools and training schools in affecting the large number of people who are going out to teach our schools, does not seem to be realized, except in rare cases, as for example, the work of Dr. E. C. Branson in connection with the Georgia club at the State normal school in Athens, Georgia—a work, by the way, that he is carrying on in his new position at the University of North Carolina.

If a digression may be permitted here, if it be a digression, I should like to say that woman suffrage has absolutely no grounds in its favor except its educational one. The direct participation in government by women would be unquestionably a great and very welcome civic factor. One of its most beneficent results will be the civic education of the vast number of women teachers all over the country to whom is committed the education of our children.

SOME FUNDAMENTALS OF CIVIC EDUCATION

There are a number of things—appreciations or attitudes, if you will—that our present attempts in civic education are not teaching. I should like to name some of these briefly. One is the very simple fact that there is no progress in mere law-abiding. The reverence for the constitution and the law as things perfected and complete must be changed. We must recognize both the statute law and constitution merely as instruments in achieving the social welfare. The proper attitude of citizens toward the law is not one of resignation or adoration, but of alert questioning and desire to improve.

Another thing that we do not teach is that everybody is wise. There is a bold challenge to American democracy in a motto like that of Leslie's Weekly, "Let the thinking people rule." It is merely an expression of the current unbelief in the basic principle of American democracy. There is a Napoleon story that will illustrate this point. Talleyrand in speaking to Napoleon said, "There is somebody wiser than you, Napoleon, and wiser than all your ministers." Napoleon asked, "Who is that?" Talleyrand answered, "Everybody!" Lincoln knew this profound lesson of democracy. His remark that you can fool some of the people all the time and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time, is simply an expression of his faith in fundamental democracy—that in the long run the common judgment of ordinary men is wiser than all the experts that exist.

Another thing that we do not teach is the actual process of government as distinct from the formal organization in charters and constitutions. I had received some fairly good instruction in government so far as ordi-

nary school and college instruction went, but when I was placed in a legislature with a school program to put over, I did not recognize any of the text-book processes in the actual processes that I had to deal with. It is this failure to provide this contact with government that is perhaps the fundamental failure of our educational system, but particularly of our universities.

Still another thing we do not really teach is the significance of the vast number of civic agencies in their relation to government both as critical and as co-operative agencies. The wonderful transformation of the chamber of commerce movement in this country is a striking example of the usefulness of these agencies in civic work.

And finally, we do not give an adequate conception of the significance of the court as an agency to aid or hinder the social welfare. This final arbiter of our democratic destinies is treated in terms of a reverent phrase-ology. The denial of elementary justice in the twentieth century because of fifteenth century precedent never gets into the class-room. The political affiliations of judges are tabooed. Perhaps one of the most essential things in our industrial life is a real understanding of the significance of the courts. Yet no attempt is made to give this in the schools. If education is going to mean anything in an industrial democracy or in a social democracy, our citizens must understand the actual function of the judiciary and its actual operation.

WHY STUDY MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS? ADVANTAGES AS VIEWED FROM THE STUDENT'S STANDPOINT .

BY ROCKWELL D. HUNT University of Southern California

URING the academic year 1914–15 it fell to the present writer's lot to conduct a Saturday class in municipal problems in the University of Southern California. It was essentially a teachers' class, for each year the university schedules a number of Saturday and late afternoon classes for the special convenience of school principals and teachers of Los Angeles and near-by towns.

The class numbered upwards of forty members, of whom fifteen were registered as graduate students. The work of the first semester was devoted in the main to political, economic and administrative aspects of the city, including the examination of many typical charters and a study of the changing forms of city government. The second semester's work was largely in the field of that emerging science called urban sociology.

In the course various methods of instruction were employed. Lectures, required text-books, specially recommended works, extensive collateral

readings, investigation of special topics, and class discussion—each of these had a place. A distinctive feature that proved vitally interesting and most helpful was a series of special lectures by carefully chosen practical experts in their respective fields.

Since almost all the members of this class were actively engaged in the work of education either as principals or as teachers, it seemed proper to set up as one of the aims of the course a deepened and more intelligent civic interest to the further end that this in turn might yield somewhat of social betterment through wider projection and dissemination.

At the close of the course each member was requested to write out, with perfect candor, the personal and general advantages to be derived from a university course in municipal problems. So significant and interesting did the responses prove that the instructor has concluded that some slight epitome of them might with profit be given to a wider audience.

The city is clearly recognized as the very center of civic problems; and this will be increasingly true in days to come. A course in municipal problems affords excellent means of acquiring a knowledge of the history and development of civic institutions and problems. One enthusiastic teacher uses these strong words: "The knowledge gained in such a course should be counted a necessary equipment for every citizen. . . . It was a liberal education in itself."

Such a course in a university assumes the scientific point of view and gives assurance of such a breadth and disinterestedness as could not easily be secured in other than academic environment; and no other attitude of mind or method of procedure could yield results that would be wholly adequate.

There was developed a "sense of personal touch" with recognized civic leaders, who were found most willing to respond to invitations to address the class. Their intelligent enthusiasm and lofty purposes are invaluable in vitalizing the respective problems studied.

Reciprocally, this vital interest, once thoroughly aroused, is certain to yield a wholesome reflex on the city or community. For students will have a deepened sense of responsibility which will lead them to intelligent participation in the solution of our social and civic problems. One principal declared: "Such a course cannot help but be a boon to the municipality in which given."

Moreover, higher standards of official efficiency will be stimulated and new experts will be equipped for various special lines of public service. "Particularly," writes one of long experience, "has the city a right to look to her leaders in the educational field for guidance and example in helping to solve its problems. The course in municipal problems is one of the most important in our curriculum."

It did not escape notice that a systematic course of study is of especial value to teachers, since their advice in civic matters is frequently sought

and since they are rightly expected to give intelligent answers to inquirers. This has added force when applied to the actual work of the school-room itself.

Greatest emphasis was laid upon the advantages afforded in preparation for a higher type of citizenship. This point may be well illustrated by the introduction of a few selected extracts. One bright teacher of alien birth, recently adopted into American citizenship, writes: "With knowledge comes interest; and when people are interested, they will themselves work for the improvement of existing conditions as well as arouse the interest of others. . . . Personally, I feel that the course in municipal problems has given me more information on the topic than I could have acquired in a life-time." Another, whose name also has a foreign sound, waxes enthusiastic: "A course in municipal problems should be a requisite for graduation in every university, for what more essential function can education possess than that which makes for better citizenship?" A manual training teacher makes confession: "A new world is opened to me and I am made to look upon the city with an entirely new vision." A gifted young woman, recently transferred from a great state university, declares: "For practical knowledge it has offered me more than any other university course I have ever pursued. I have lived in California less than a year, and yet I find that I am better acquainted with existing conditions in Los Angeles than other cities in which I have resided for years." One city principal is led to pledge himself to higher civic loyalty: "This course," he writes, "has so aroused my interest in certain problems in connection with Los Angeles that I will give them much more of my time in both thought and work." This deepened interest has reference to himself as private person, teacher, and citizen.

Finally, the new note of civic evangelism is clearly sounded by numerous members of the class. For, says one: "The course inspires the student to become thoroughly conversant with the city's problems, and to do his full duty in promoting the best interests of the city." This call applies with peculiar force to the college-bred citizen, to whom the community has a right to look for safe and active leadership and who cannot justify himself in standing aloof from actual affairs. Another prophet of the "coming city" believes that such a study "creates a wholesome discontent with present conditions and urges one on to attempt better things. It begets visions. It makes one dream dreams and then hasten to make them come true in civic righteousness."

A perusal of the entire 36 replies submitted would seem to justify, as an expression of the verdict of the class as a whole, the final statement of one of its most earnest members,—"The subject is intensely interesting to the student and absolutely necessary for intelligent citizenship."

CIVICS: THE ART OF CITIZENSHIP 1

BY E. MABEL SKINNER

New York City.

HAT shall it profit a girl if she knows how many United States senators there are and what they are paid, their term of office, duties, powers, etc., if she knows not her personal responsibilities as a citizen, and has no desire to render social and civic service to those around her in community and state?

For years civics has been taught as the science of government. It is only recently that teachers have discovered in this subject a splendid chance to get our boys and girls to thinking and acting socially, and an opportunity to develop in them a civic conscience and sense of community obligation. Civics at last is coming to be recognized as "the art of good citizenship."

Because this is a part of our creed at the Washington Irving High School we no longer in our work in civics start with any unit of government or even with the needs of government, but with the family. We discuss its historic origin through the needs of the children, John Fiske's theory of the lengthening period of infancy, the significance of this idea, the bonds which tend to hold the family together, disruptive influences which tend to break down family life, etc. Among the latter we emphasize those for which our women are especially to blame-"bad cooking," "slovenly house-keeping," "nagging," etc. Next come the duties and rights of parents, eugenics, euthenics; the duties and rights of children; the evils of child labor, its injustice to the child and pernicious influence in a community; beautifying the home; William Morris' plea that we should have nothing in our homes except what we know to be useful and believe to be beautiful; beautiful allusions to the home in prose and poetry, avoiding the cheap and maudlin and searching for what is big and fine; the opportunity of the girl in the home, that is, opportunity for service.

Now we trace the development of the family into the clan, tribe and nation, and then begin to study the state as an institution. What does the government do for us at the present time? Which of these services could be performed by private enterprise? What services now performed by private enterprise could be performed by the state? Municipal and federal ownership: arguments for and against. Abuses of the government and political evils. Attempts to remedy these evils: referendum, recall, initiative, civil service, impeachment, commission plan of govern-

As taught at the Washington Irving High School in New York City.

ment, etc. Where have these things been tried? How have they worked? What are the girl's opportunities for service in the community in which she lives?

This completes our first term's work. In the second term our lessons are grouped under the following headings: Problems of the housekeeper and parent, of the wage-earner, of industry, of the community, of the nation. We begin with the vital connection between the home and the government and study the work of those departments of our city government which come into the most intimate contact with the home (tenement, fire, street cleaning, health, etc.). How may we co-operate with these departments? Under the second group we consider matters of income, saving, expenditure; the budget system; what is a normal apportionment of one's income for rent, clothes, etc; recreation; a frank and free airing of views on the different forms of amusement and their relative values. How shall we decide what "fun" is worth while? Problems of industry include a careful statement of a few of the most pressing ones, with an earnest effort to get the girls to learn to look on both sides of the question, since nothing else is fair and because there always are two sides. One lesson on the cost of war from an economic, social and moral viewpoint we introduced the year before war was declared in Europe.—We also consider the cost of peace. Finally, different forces at work in the world for social and civic betterment, and woman's place in all this. (Not so much a matter of "where" she's placed, but "how" she's filling the place she occupies.) The ideal set forth in the description of one of whom it was said: Wherever he went he made a place for himself through his service.

This account contains no allusion to our library work, our reports on current history; our various social and civic activities outside of the class room correlated with our lessons; our talk on the social evil and warnings to our girls so soon to go from us into the maelstrom of business life; our special lessons on elections in the last of October and first of November each year (at which time we also hold the election of officers in the student organization, with printed ballots, inspectors of election, watchers, etc. and the whole preceded by campaign posters, speeches of candidates in foyer and assembly and most vigorous electioneering of rival managers). Nor has anything been said about our study of the school system: what it costs the city and what the city expects in return for the millions it spends on its schools; our visits to sessions of the board of aldermen, board of estimate, children's court, etc.; our debates and note-books and bulletin board with its caption: "Citizens: attention."

At least civics as we teach it at Washington Irving has one advantage if no more: it is simply impossible for the instructor to teach it twice alike.

EDUCATING THE RURAL LEGISLATOR

BY WILLIAM C. CULKINS ¹
Cincinnati

AYOR SPIEGEL of Cincinnati has just appointed a rapid transit commission, to devise a rapid transit system for Cincinnati at an estimated cost of from \$6,000,000 to \$10,000,000. It was appointed under an enabling act passed by the last Ohio legislature, and thereby hangs a tale of unusual interest to those interested in the business and civic legislative problems of the country.

During the winter of 1914-1915 it was necessary for the Cincinnati chamber of commerce and other business and civic organizations representing 7,000 members, to send two special delegations of more than 100 each to the state capitol on the subject of rapid transit. The men who composed these delegations were obliged to neglect their ordinary business on these occasions and spend their time visiting the governor of Ohio, the floor leaders of both leading political parties in senate and house, and others influential in the passing of laws. They were obliged to demonstrate to the members of the legislature that the people of Cincinnati were heart and soul for the solution of the problem of rapid intercommunication within their city. Even then the rapid transit measure hung in the balance for many days and was one of the last acts passed by the legislature prior to its adjournment. As the legislators retired from their chambers after the act had been passed the majority of them were doubtless still dubious as to the policy of giving Cincinnati power to create a rapid transit commission for activity within its own boundaries.

The business men of Cincinnati realized the atmosphere of distrust within the legislative halls, and knew that the measure had passed merely because there had been no active opposition. The law had the support of every active organization in Cincinnati. Business men of other cities, visiting their own legislatures on similar business, have noted the same atmosphere. It remained for the business men of Cincinnati to take the first steps toward removing that influence, which might be described as distinctly antagonistic to the larger cities.

Men of rural communities are almost always found opposed to the activities of those in the cities. Misunderstanding and distrust of one for the other have hampered desirable legislative enactments in every state of the Union. Bitterness has been a common result, and an attitude of armed preparedness between the camps of ruralist and urbanite. The solution of this problem is one of education. Inasmuch as most ruralists are not prepared to expend their own means to secure this education, and no law has yet been passed to enable them to spend state

¹ Executive secretary of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce.

moneys for the purpose, the business men of Cincinnati, headed by officials of the Cincinnati chamber of commerce, raised a large fund and entertained the legislators in Cincinnati.

About 200 of the lawmakers and their wives accepted the invitation sent out by the entertainment committee. They were shown the beautiful parks of Cincinnati covering 2,500 acres and given an account of how public funds are expended to improve them. The industrial districts and their needs were shown. The municipal school system, ranging from kindergarten to university, and the new \$4,000,000 municipal hospital were inspected. The great municipal waterworks system was explained; a review of the city fire and police departments was staged, and they were made acquainted with the intricate mazes of city government and the advisory system of civic and commercial organization committee work in connection with the passage of ordinances. Afterwards they were placed aboard an all steel special train on the Cincinnati Southern line, and borne over this municipally owned railroad 335 miles to Chattanooga. The story of the construction of the railroad by the city to tap the resources of the great south and to afford a market for northern commerce was related to them, and they were shown the city's financial statement which proves that the road has doubled in value since its construction and annually pays the city a revenue of nearly a million dollars.

Of the legislators who took part in the Cincinnati experiment, two thirds came from rural communities. Their knowledge of city affairs in many instances was limited to what they had picked up in the state capitol. Their amazement at the progress of Cincinnati was unconcealed. They were made to realize the betterment of living conditions, the strides made for education, the accomplishment of easy means of intercommunication and the opening up of easy avenues to and from a great trade territory. Finally they were honestly convinced that tax rates which produce a sufficient revenue for the needs of rural communities are entirely insufficient to take care of the needs of metropolitan cities. They partook of the hospitality of Cincinnati's citizens for an entire week, not a moment of which was empty of revelation to them. The statement of one rural legislator just prior to his departure from Cincinnati expresses the sentiments of all who enjoyed this educational experiment: "I don't believe in letting down the bars to permit the cities to make wanton expenditures, but I do believe the legislature of Ohio will in the future have to look much more favorably upon legislation especially applicable to the needs of big cities. We have worked in the dark in the past, basing our votes on our own experiences which we now agree were limited. Our eyes have been opened by what we saw and heard in Cincinnati."

In reviewing the results of this visit of the legislature to Cincinnati, it seems that large cities of other states will find it highly important to

arrange similar excursions for their legislatures. Possibly they will not be called upon to provide so extensive an entertainment as that given by Cincinnati, but they will at least be obliged to give the country legislator his information about city problems by personal observation. In Cincinnati the citizens are convinced that this experiment has been successful. That it will give excellent results in years to come and will produce a hearty co-operation on the part of the rural legislators who were the city's guests there can be no doubt. Every large city in Ohio will participate in the benefits, and the same plan may be applied effectively in every state in the union. It will serve the purpose of eliminating the feeling of prejudice and distrust confessed to exist between the man of the city and he of the country. The feeling is a mistaken one, the outgrowth of ignorance. Its only remedy is education. The coming of the telephone placed a wedge in this barrier, the making of good roads is doing its part, and the use of the automobile in the country is doing wonders. The final step in our opinion was taken when the legislature of Ohio was given ocular proof of the needs of cities at Cincinnati last September.

SALEM'S CHARTER EXPERIENCES

BY WINFIELD S. NEVINS Salem, Mass.

ALEM, one of the oldest and most conservative cities of the country, has had three kinds of municipal government in less than four years. Incorporated as a city in 1836, under a special charter, it retained that form of government until 1912, when it changed to the "commission form of government." The first charter provided for a mayor and six aldermen-at-large and four councillors from each of the six wards. Only one change was made in that provision down to 1912; that was to increase the number of aldermen to seven because of occasional ties with six members. The number of wards has never been changed since the first division in 1836. During the first half century after the adoption of the city charter the governments of Salem were noted for the able men who served the city, many of them men of national reputation. Four of them served in Congress subsequent to serving the city as mayor. Others served with great credit on the judiciary. The very best business and professional men were members of the council. Not until about 1890 was there much deterioration. Then a wave of reaction seemed to sweep over Salem which grew in volume during the next twenty years. Politicians began to seek places in the government to further personal ends. Up to this time nominations had been made by parties or by groups of responsible citizens, who sought the best available men. With the coming of the nomination paper and the Australian ballot, all this changed.

Self-nominated men predominated. Reputable business and professional men would not pass around nomination papers for themselves, nor would they hire men to do it, nor would they ask their friends to secure signatures. Few citizens voluntarily circulated papers for others from motives of pure public welfare. Gradually the two branches of the council came to be composed of "cheaper" men. The mayoralty which had been filled by a Saltonstall, a Phillips, a Cabot, a Cogswell, a Rantoul, an Upham and others, was conferred upon men lacking in education or experience in public life, "good fellows" who "took care" of their friends. Of corruption, as such, there was never much, if any. Certainly not enough to be worth mention. Of favoritism, of nepotism, of appointments of friends and supporters and "friends of friends" there was much. And yet Salem had only two city messengers from 1837 to 1913 and two city clerks in a half century. Its city treasurers were never changed except as the occupant died or resigned to accept a bank cashiership. One city marshal served more than a quarter of a century. A chief engineer of the fire department served twenty-seven years to be retired because of old age, on a pension. Raymond Lee Newcomb, the famous naturalist of the Jeanette Arctic expedition, has been health officer almost from the day he returned to Salem from his long weary tramp through Arctic Siberia. Policemen were seldom removed, and school teachers grew gray in the service. There were changes occasionally in minor unpaid boards. During all the years that these city officials were holding their offices they were often subject of attack, usually because somebody else wanted the places. They had to defend themselves and their positions annually because they were elected annually. Salem's weakness during the last two decades has been in its mayors and aldermen, not much in its councils. It has had some freak mayors and some incompetents.

Suddenly a number of zealous young men decided to give Salem a commission form of government. They drew up a charter and got it passed through the legislature. Then they entered upon a campaign for its adoption. They had an organization and some money. They imported advocates of that form of government; they seduously kept out of the discussion any one who opposed their plan. Occupants of city offices under recently adopted commission forms of government in a half dozen near by cities were called upon to tell the voters of Salem what a success the system had been under their rule of one, or, at most, two years. A few professional advocates of the system were brought into the discussion. The voters voted by a small majority to have a new charter, and then voted to adopt the commission form proposed.

The new government went into operation January 1, 1913. It was composed entirely of men who had been in municipal office for longer or shorter, some of them many years. All the old officers were re-elected.

Not a new face was seen. Mayor Hurley, whose re-election the new charter was guaranteed to prevent, was handsomely re-elected. He remained in office nearly two years when he was recalled. The man selected to fill his place was without experience and failed to bring about any of the desired reforms. Finally, last summer the assessors of taxes revalued the real estate of the city outside the burned area. They did this by direction of the councillors. Values were placed in many instances way above any possible cash value and often far beyond the cost. The police department had gone from bad to worse and was in turmoil and had been during the entire three years. Some improvement had been made in the fire department by getting temporarily a fire captain of Boston to take charge of it. When the great conflagration came in June, 1914, the people asked the legislature to provide for a "rebuilding commission" of five men to have autocratic control over the burned area to regulate its rebuilding and the relocating of streets and everything else pertaining to the reconstruction. This was really the first blow at the new council after seventeen months. On the first election for two new members at the end of 1913, a very objectionable man was elected to the health department, another of the men who, it was said, the new charter would keep out by reason of the primary. Twice the new charter failed to fulfil promises. The primary provision seemed to be the thing that enabled bad men to get elected.

Extravagance prevailed from the first. Beside the salaries paid to councillors who had always previously served without pay, salaries of officials were raised; new clerks were employed, more typewriters and telephones and numerous automobiles were installed. The work of the school board was subject to criticism, whether justly or unjustly. Discourtesy in office, believed to be the result of long tenure, was charged, a charge emphasized in the recent address of the new mayor, H. M. Benson.

When the excessive valuations followed these other offences, the people were so aroused that they swept the charter out of existence and adopted a new one, which provides for a mayor and eleven councillors. The system seems to operate something after the German city council system. The mayor is the real executive head, but in most things must have the sanction of a majority of the council. The council has no executive powers, solely legislative. It makes appropriations and adopts measures of policy. Details are mainly vested in the mayor or heads of departments. One of the most independent, intelligent, clear-headed business men of the city has been elected mayor, and the councillors are nearly all business men. The city seems to have terminated its "buffoon performances" of the past fifteen years and returned to the "good old days" of solid men for municipal control.

GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES AS COMPARED WITH OTHER LANDS

BY PROFESSOR MURRAY GROSS
West Philadelphia High School

IT IS a long time between the days of Nineveh and Babylon and our own New York and Chicago, but from the point of view of a consideration of the forces that make for the development of large cities those ancient ones were nearer to the cities of the eighteenth century than the latter are to the cities of the twentieth.

In the ancient days, urban life developed mainly as an incident in communities of agricultural activity, and represented a concentration of population for the purposes of defence and trade, and only secondarily as the seat of handicraft and other industries. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the growth of cities was given an enormous impetus not only by a rapidly widening circle of commercial intercourse, but also by an unprecedented series of mechanical discoveries and inventions which revolutionized not only agriculture and commerce but also particularly manufacturing industries. Among them none are so marked in their effect upon the distribution of population as those which had to do with the application of mechanical power to industry through the utilization of coal in both manufacturing and transportation. result of the influences exerted by this mechanical progress, the individual worker was supplanted by the organization of groups of workers, highly specialized as to the purpose of the group and the function of individual worker within the group, which meant agglomeration of workers in advantageous proximity to the raw materials of manufacture and water power, or later, especially coal, or under some circumstances near the markets for the finished product. The last factor, however, was of minor importance as compared with the other two.

It is no wonder, therefore, that those regions of Europe and America most favorably situated with respect to previously developed industrial background and raw materials, especially coal, showed an enormous expansion of manufacturing industry rather than agriculture as the basis of commerce and incidentally an unprecedented tendency toward concentration of population and urban development never before seen in the history of the world. Broadly speaking, the areas belonging to those regions include the United States, the United Kingdom (for this study, England and Wales), Germany and France, all of which not only possessed the peculiar combination of water power and raw materials upon which was based an early development of manufacturing industries, but later found themselves the fortunate beneficiaries of enormous stores of coal well located with respect to the previous industrial development.

Satisfactory comparison of the urban development in these countries is rendered difficult by the lack of data of a uniform nature for the coun-

tries themselves as well as within the countries at different times in the history of their development. So that the word "urban" varies in its use not only in the different countries at different times, but especially among the countries with respect to one another. However, as a result of very exhaustive studies and tabulations made by Weber in "The Growth of Cities" published in 1899, and the recent census publications of the specific countries, sufficient data for a comparison is at hand enabling us to assign as a meaning of "urban" in the United States up to 1890 "groups of people living in towns and cities with a population of 8,000 or more" and since that year, "2,500 or more"; in England and Wales, "5,000 or more" up to 1890 and "2,000 or more" since: in Germany. "2,000 or more" from 1871 to the present time; and in France, "2,000 or more" from 1846 to the present time. By the utilization of these units, the trend of urban agglomeration may be traced sufficiently accurately to reveal approximately the enormous movement toward concentration of population into compact centers that has taken place in Europe and America during the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

Urban Development in the United States.—In the United States, using as a unit "towns and cities of 8,000 or more inhabitants," the growth in urban population shows an increase from 210,873 persons residing in six cities in 1800, or 3.9 per cent of the total population of the United States at that time (5,308,000), to 18,284,000 living in 448 centers in 1890, or almost 30 per cent of the total population of 62,622,000. From this it is to be seen that while the total population of the country increased but twelve fold, the urban centers increased in inhabitants eighty-seven fold. In this period, it is in addition interesting to note that up to 1830, a date that may be taken to broadly designate the beginning of the influences of improved transportation in the form of railways and steam navigation, the total urban population increased only to 864,000, or 6.7 per cent of the country's population of 12,866,000 in that year.

Since 1890, while consecutive comparison with earlier periods is rendered deceptive by a shift in the urban unit by census statistics to a base of "2,500 or more," out of a total population in the country in 1900 of 76,000,000, 31,000,000, or 39 per cent resided in towns and cities; and in 1910, of a total population of 92,000,000, 43,000,000, or 46 per cent were classed as urban. Moreover, according to the United States census computations, more than one fifth of the total population resided in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants, and about one tenth in three cities of more than 1,000,000 each. According to the same computation, if metropolitan districts are taken so as to include in each case beside the central city those suburbs which belong industrially to the city and in which the city's life is dominant, more than 14.6 per cent of the total population of the country belonged to urban centers of more than one million inhabitants each.

As to the regional distribution of urban centers in the United States in 1910, the New England states showed a proportion of 83.3 per cent of

the population urban; the middle Atlantic, 71 per cent; the east north central, 53.7 per cent; the west north central, 33.3 per cent; the south Atlantic, 25.4 per cent; the east south central, 18.7 per cent; the west south central, 22.3; the mountain, 36 per cent; and the Pacific, 56.8 per cent. In a notable way here is reflected the proportion of commercial, manufacturing, or mining population which is variously predominate in the New England, the middle Atlantic and the east north central states as contrasted with the more generally agricultural or otherwise rural populations of the other divisions, excepting the Pacific, where the high percentage of urban concentration may be explained by the presence along the Pacific seaboard of a considerable number of flourishing national seaports and the nature of the agricultural and other industrial life in the interior of the division.

Not even an elementary consideration of the urban development of the United States would be complete without a reference to the enormous growth of New York and Chicago, the two great urban embodiments of the commercial and industrial life of the country, made so by a unique combination of geographic and economic advantages nowhere else exhibited in such telling effect. New York City, in 1830, had 242,000 people, but by 1910 it had increased twentyfold to a population of 4,767,000. Chicago appeared in the statistics of the country in 1840 with 4,470 persons as inhabitants; in 1910 it had become a city of 2,185,000, showing the phenomenal growth of fiftyfold in seventy years.

Urban Development in England and Wales.—In England and Wales, owing to the more advanced position of both the textile and the metal industries, the beginning of the nineteenth century shows an urban population of 1,506,000, or 16.9 per cent of a total population of 8,893,000. By 1831, these figures had changed to 3,467,000, or 25 per cent of a total of 13,897,000. So that while the urban population increased two and a half times, the total population grew only one and a half. In the same period in the United States, the urban population increased four and a tenth times while the total population grew two and a half. It is apparent, therefore, that in this period in the two countries there is substantially a parallel rate of urban growth. Between 1831 and 1891, the urban population rose to 15,564,000, or 53.5 per cent of the total population of 29,002,-000. In the United States for the same period, the proportion of urban to total population rose to only 30 per cent, revealing to what extent the expanding agricultural interests of the country counterbalanced the growth of manufacturing activities in urban centers.

From 1891 to 1911 in England and Wales, using the "3,000 or more" unit of urban classification, the urban population rose to 28,163,000, or 78 per cent of the total population of 36,076,000, the highest proportion of urban concentration shown by the regions under consideration. Of this, 20 per cent pertained to the metropolitan district of London, and the remainder largely to the varying textile and metal industrial districts of Lancasshire, Stafford, Yorkshire, Monmouth and Glamorgan.

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Urban Development in Germany, France and Russia.—In Germany, in 1871, when the German empire was established, 14,790,000, or 35 per cent of the total population of the country (41,058,000) resided in towns and cities of "two thousand or more." In 1890, this proportion rose to 23,243,000 of a total of 49,428,000, or about 47 per cent. In 1910, the proportion of urban population amounted to 60 per cent, or 38,942,000 of the total population of the empire, 64,903,000.

France shows an increase of from 24.4 per cent in 1846, when the urban population stood 8,647,000 out of a total population of 35,400,000, to 45 per cent in 1911, when the urban population was 17,508,000 out of a total of 39,601,000.

In strong contrast with all of the preceding regions is the situation in Russia. In 1870, only 10.6 per cent of the estimated population of 86,000,000 lived in towns and cities. In 1897, the year of the last census estimates, only 12.9 per cent of a total of 126,000,000 were residents of towns and cities. Poland, where the textile industries gave the greatest impulse to urban growth, showed only 21.8 per cent of the total population of the district lived in urban centers.

In conclusion, it is evident that England and Wales show the highest urban agglomeration, i. e., 78 per cent; Germany follows with 60 per cent; the United States next, with 46 per cent; and France last with 45 per cent. In each region the population is becoming more and more dependent upon manufacturing and commerce for an existence, and therefore until electricity displaces coal as a source of motive power, urban growth will continue in proximity to its present centers along the principle "to him who hath shall be given."

THE "CIVIC IMPROVEMENT LEAGUE OF CANADA": A DOMINION WIDE MOVEMENT

BY WILLIAM H. ATHERTON, PH.D. Montreal

HE Dominion of Canada has learnt much from its neighboring republic. May it be possible for the latter to learn something in turn from the dominion?

A civic movement is just taking place in Canada, which, while owing, at least through some of its promoters, much to the experience gained from civic workers of the United States, and not least to the National Municipal League, is a step in advance in civic constructiveness, and one highly useful for imitation in the United States, in that it points the way to the desirability of the establishment of a federal department of cities to supplement the public health service, the agriculture and children's

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bureaus and other federal organizations already in existence. The movement is that signalized by the inauguration of the "Civic Improvement League of Canada" at Ottawa on January 20, paternized and helped in its struggle for existence by the commission of conservation—a non-political department of the federal government of Canada.

A word as to this commission: It is composed of twelve *ex-officio* members and about nineteen appointed members, unofficial experts dealing with those forces conserving the resources of the dominion, its mines, its forests, its live stock, its agriculture. This non-political commission has been a great success and is gradually taking on new developments.

In 1914, in order to conserve the time, energies and money of cities, towns, municipalities, which had been hitherto left to think out hap-hazardly their own problems arising from the necessity of the development of urban and suburban growth, this commission added to its activities by the establishment of a bureau of town planning and housing, under the direction of Thomas Adams, the well known city planner of England.

The request for the latter establishment, and its subsequent realization, were the results of action taken by the Canadian delegates at the International city planning congress held at Toronto in November, 1914, under the joint auspices of the commission of conservation and delegates from associations, mostly in the United States. On this occasion there was present a group of Canadian civic workers who had previously met at Toronto in 1913 at the convention of the National Municipal League either as members or in sympathy with its ideals, and had there formed themselves into a committee to study the ways and means to establish a Canadian civic association to concentrate on the study of Canada's special civic problems.

There was no desire to separate from the National Municipal League and kindred American associations, for many had strong affiliations therewith; but one central Canadian school of experts was necessary for the study by Canadians of their own problems. This association might afterwards be brought into useful and happy relations with the large associations established on this continent for specific and more confined purposes.

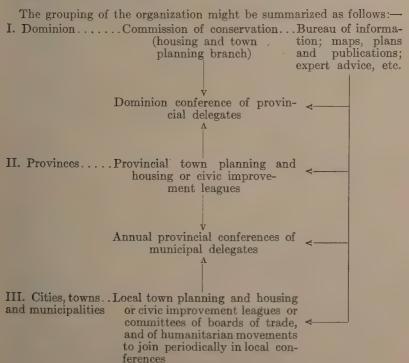
This committee met at the City planning congress, and urged before the Canadians present as the first move that since town planning and housing were the basic movements in all modern civic improvement schemes, the commission of conservation should set up a bureau of this nature, which should employ experts to collect comparative statistics, sociological surveys, maps, etc., all of which should serve as viaducts leading to some system of uniformity in town planning and housing throughout the dominion, and would conserve endless expenditures of time, money and energy which otherwise would be frittered away by cities working haphazardly and incoherently. The commission saw that this form of conservation was within its scope, and the bureau of town planning and housing was formed, with Mr. Adams as director.

Meanwhile the idea of a civic improvement association of unofficial experts was not abandoned, but only deferred. Mr. Adams arrived,

visited all the principal cities of Canada and the districts being developed, saw their difficulties, and as a first result prepared a town planning act for Canada. But there was soon found to be a dearth of unofficial bodies representing educated and enlightened public opinion to criticize or to promote useful legislation for the common law on this and kindred movements. Those existing were few, and sparsely scattered with little or no inter-relation. Especially was there wanting a central organization truly representative of the dominion.

Canada has not been as well organized as the United States in such matters. The moment had, however, come to establish a civic improvement league, to embrace in one central organization the representatives of responsible associations of a federal, provincial or municipal character.

The use of the resources of the commission of conservation, through its new bureau, was to be the basis of a dominion wide-association, which, starting out with a central dominion council, should encourage the growth of provincial councils as well as local councils or leagues in every municipality, be it a city like Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton, or a modest township or rural district. In other words, there should be encouraged a scheme of civic improvement leagues throughout the dominion.



The direction of the arrows indicates that the expert advice and assistance of the commission of conservation is available for all parties and on all occasions.

A preliminary congress for organization was held in Ottawa in November, 1915, and was attended by formal representatives from all over Canada. At that meeting there was adopted a provisional statement of objects at which the league should aim, as follows:

To assist in promoting the highest interests of the Canadian city and the welfare of its citizens by the study and advancement of the best principles and methods of civic improvement and development, to encourage and organize those social forces which make for efficient Canadian citizenship, and to secure a general and effective public interest in all municipal affairs, with special regard to such questions as the following:

(1) The form and character of local government and the application of sound economic principles in regard to the administration of municipal

business.

(2) The conservation of the industrial and physical resources of the city, with special regard to the housing conditions and health of its citi-

zens and the adequacy and efficiency of its public services.

(3) The preparation of town planning schemes for the purpose of securing proper sanitary conditions, convenience and amenity in connection with the development of land within and surrounding the area of the city.

(4) The replanning of old districts, the removal of slum areas, the widening of public thoroughfares, and other reconstruction schemes.

(5) The preservation and increase of natural and structural beauty, the character and position of public monuments, the laying out of parks and open spaces, the planting and preservation of trees, the regulation of public advertising, and the abatement of smoke and other nuisances.

(6) The preparation of civic surveys and maps, and the carrying out of investigation into housing, transportation and industrial conditions,

methods of land valuation and assessments, etc.

(7) The means of securing increased production from the soil within and in the neighborhood of the city by encouraging the cultivation of

idle suburban land and a more widespread interest in gardening.

(8) The promotion of school and college courses in civics and civic design, of exhibitions of works of art and of architectural engineering and other designs relating to civic improvements, and of public performances of music; and the provision of facilities for the recreation and physical development of the young.

(9) Sociological works, including those especially making for efficient

citizenship such as immigration, labor bureaus, child welfare, etc.

The formal inauguration of the Civic Improvement League of Canada and the establishment of the dominion council took place on Thursday, January 20, 1916, in the railway commission rooms in the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa, with the distinguished presence of the uncle of the King of England, Field Marshall, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, governor general of Canada. Be it said to the credit of the commission of conservation that the expenses incidental to this first congress of this unofficial organization were entirely borne by it.

The meeting at once took up business, taking for granted all congratulatory compliments on the formation and the need of such a league.

The resolutions put before the meeting dealt with the need of prompt action; in adopting a uniform town planning act, the planning of agricultural districts, a uniform system of municipal and vital statistics, the establishment of municipal departments of municipal affairs, a federal bureau of public health, a uniform system for meeting the question of employment and immigration after the war—all manifesting a desire for uniformity—a sign that such a body representative of the provinces of the dominion has been badly needed.

At present the organization of the central dominion body is divided into three bodies—(1) general membership; (2) a dominion council of one hundred representing the provinces according to population; (3) an executive, formed of a member from each of the provinces.

The formation of provincial and local civic improvement leagues has been deferred to a later period; but in preparation every encouragement is to be given to such. Indeed the movement will be valueless without their multiplication and co-ordination.

The above outline will sufficiently indicate the conception, birth and scope of a great civic movement which its promoters look forward to as likely to be economically and speedily productive of great good for the affiliation or co-ordination of Canadian associations moving around one common source of information—provided for all by the commission of conservation.

It is believed that this movement will be hailed as a blessing not only for Canada, but for the whole civic economy of this continent. Indeed those of the American associations present at the two Toronto congresses, when the first steps were taken for the new organization, hailed it, if attainable, as worthy of being recorded in history as a wonderfully progressive step in the modern development of civic economics.

CIVIC PHASES OF THE SMOKE PROBLEM

BY JOHN O'CONNOR, JR., ¹
University of Pittsburgh

HE problems of modern cities are largely industrial problems.

Ancient cities were founded around religious, political or trading centers: modern cities were founded at points where raw materials could be secured or easily assembled for the making of goods. If cities have failed to solve their problems it is not so much the fault

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of theories of government, as it is that industry has failed in service. It has been served. Go through the shame of American cities and you will find at the basis of it a perverted idea of the place of industry in the scheme of things. As some one put it recently:

"Our jerry-built cities, our soot, the cracked paint of our houses, the dusty carelessness of our city life, its flaring second-hand amusements, are the settings in which people lose the vitality to deal with those problems which they dare not fail to solve."

Cities have yet to learn that industry was made for man; not man for industry.

The industrial life and with it, of course, the very existence of a great many of our cities is predicated on coal consumption. It is, therefore, not in the least surprising that cities have found great difficulty in solving a problem which arises out of coal consumption—the smoke problem. To attempt to make a problem out of that which is so close to the very existence of a city seems to some sheer folly. Booth Tarkington in "The Turmoil" has Mr. Sheridan, a manufacturer, express this attitude when he says to a committee of plaintive housewives who called to beg his aid against the smoke nuisance:

"Smoke's what brings your husbands' money home on Saturday night. . . . You go home and ask your husbands what smoke puts in their pockets out o' the payroll—and you'll come around next time to get me to turn out more smoke instead o' chokin' it off!"

Nevertheless, American cities have long recognized the existence of the smoke problem and have attempted to cope with it. As early as 1804 the burgess of Pittsburgh called the attention of the borough council to the smoke evil. It was not until 1881 that cities made the smoke nuisance a subject of legislation. Chicago passed the first general ordinance in April of that year and Cincinnati the following November. It may be interesting to know that almost ten years before this ordinance was passed in Cincinnati, actual cases of nuisances caused by smoke were reported and proceeded against under the general provision with respect to nuisances. Legislative enactments have gone on until now at the Mellon Institute there are on file copies of the ordinances of some 75 American cities. The enactment of so many ordinances may indicate a widespread and live interest in the smoke problem, or it may point to a surpassing faith in the power of legislation.

At all events the concept of the smoke problem has changed. That is the important and hopeful sign. That which was a nuisance and the abatement of which was to be secured by the establishment of facts in each individual case has become the smoke nuisance—a community problem. The establishment which now makes objectionable smoke is not looked upon as causing injury or annoyance only to the individual

who happens to live next door to it, but to the whole community. Therefore, when the smoke inspector proceeds against the violator of the ordinance he is doing so not on behalf of either a cranky, pesky, irrational or jealous individual, but on behalf of the community.

This has come to pass because cities are having it impressed upon them and are beginning to realize that the smoke nuisance is a serious obstacle to any kind of city planning, that it destroys building materials, retards the growth of vegetation, cuts off sunlight and daylight, prolongs fogs, is injurious to comfort and health, and is costly both to the smoke maker and to the public.

Let me dwell on the last point for very often persons in favor of smoke abatement are accused, as it were, of placing explosives beneath the foundation of industry. The bituminous coal consumption of this country is something over 400,000,000 tons which is valued at about \$460,000,000. It is conservatively estimated that 20 per cent of this coal consumption goes up the chimney as tribute to "King Smoke." This means a loss of about \$92,000,000 annually.

That is not all! On the basis of the average cost of the smoke nuisance for cities, in which estimates have been made, the annual cost to the people who live in what the United States census terms "urban territory" is about \$550,000,000. Cities have every reason to relieve their citizens of the burden of this tax.

Again, city assessors and the courts have taken cognizance of the fact that the smoke nuisance reduces rents, increases the difficulty in letting houses and decreases the selling price of properties, especially in residential sections.

There is another point on the economic side. It refers to the old cry about driving out business. This cry is often raised when some offenders are hard pressed. It is then asserted that if the smoke ordinance is enforced, manufacturing plants will be compelled to move elsewhere. There is no evidence to support this threat. On the contrary there is abundant proof that the smoky condition of the atmosphere keeps certain very desirable industries from locating in smoky cities and, in the second place, it imposes a heavy tax on industries already located in such cities.

A consideration of these points leads to the conclusion that the abatement of the smoke nuisance, unlike many other social nuisances, against which outcry has been made, would result in direct and immediate gain both to the public at large and to those who are chiefly responsible for it.

Cities of this country are doing much to solve the smoke problem, but the citizens have every reason to demand and to bring pressure to bear that the process be accelerated because of health, welfare, comfort and the things which make for civic betterment. It is to bring about this acceleration that I wish to make three suggestions, not on behalf of cities, but to cities.

The first one is that a city administration should take an active interest in the smoke problem. It is not outside of its duty nor beneath its dignity to do so. The interest should take the form of constructive suggestion and encouragement, not a contemptuous tolerance of the bureau, pernicious interference on behalf of favorite offenders or the sending out of the edict "go easy." Any municipal activity breaks down at the point where favoritism enters. I am sometimes inclined to think that the smoke inspector does not secure more co-operation from the city administration because he, himself, does not take the proper attitude on the smoke problem. He often thinks that his is somehow a hopeless and thankless job and the best he can do is to let "bad enough" alone. The smoke problem calls for broad men, men who have a sound fundamental training, men of imagination and men of force.

My second point is that a city should know what its problem is. This may sound foolish, but I doubt if there are more than two cities in this country which have the information on which to base a serious campaign against the smoke nuisance. A city should know what its coal consumption is and its relation to the smoke problem. It should have exact knowledge as to the general source of smoke and a good idea of the amount of smoke made by each source. It should know the location of all stacks and have all significant data on the kinds of installation under them. It should place special emphasis on securing facts as to the ability of the different installations to abate smoke. It should spare no expense to secure evidence with which to convince the most hardened offender of the smoke ordinance that the emission of dense smoke is both wasteful and harmful.

My third point is that with such information a city should diagnose its problem and plan broadly and deeply for its solution. For this purpose the ordinance should be studied to find out whether or not it was simply copied from that of another city or was adapted to the problem at hand. It should decide how much emphasis is to be placed on the abatement of smoke and how much on the prevention of future smoke. The organization of the smoke department should be worked out with reference to the extent and nature of the problem. If it is possible, the smoke bureau should be separated from other activities and set off by itself. This will give to it dignity, obtain for it the proper attention and concentrate responsibility.

Above all, plans should be laid to secure the co-operation of all civic and commercial organizations and institutions of learning that a solid front may be presented in attacking the smoke problem. This is important, whether the plan of procedure is to be one of education or prosecution. No municipal activity in this country is developed sufficiently

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to reach its goal without the help of organizations which have the welfare of the community at heart. The assistance, the criticism and the approval of civic organizations should be sought after and prized. Institutions of learning in which reside the sciences which have solved so many municipal problems should be recruited for the fight, and the students of engineering schools should be impressed with the necessity of giving attention to problems of combustion. All the forces that are in a community should be called into action to help to solve one of the most difficult problems which confront municipalities.

To summarize: Most of our civic problems are problems of industry—problems concerned with our very existence. The smoke problem is such a one, and for that reason, if for no other, is difficult to solve. Cities are coming to take an increased interest in it. This is due to the fact that points in the indictment of the smoke nuisance have been impressed upon them with new force. Cities have come to know that the smoke nuisance is harmful and wasteful, and that smoke abatement is practicable. Cities with well organized smoke abatement departments which have the support and interest of city administrations, cities which know the problem before them and which have planned broadly and deeply for its solution have every reason to look forward to "Noble and joyous cities, unbelievably white."

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Charter Revisions.—The Proposed Los Angeles Charter. On Tuesday, June 6, Los Angeles will vote on a new charter, the drafting of which was completed by a board of freeholders on December 2, 1915. This is a move, though perhaps a slight one, in the direction of simplified government and it marks a number of radical changes over the present system. The proposed charter abandons the board plan of organization for the departments of finance, public works, public safety, public utilities and harbor, and substitutes a single commissioner to be appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council. If adopted it will combine the present forty administrative departments into twelve. The number of members of the council remains nine, but their terms of office would be lengthened from two to four years.

Another very important change is the consolidation of the functions of the present police courts and township justice courts in a municipal court. This body will divide itself into branches in accordance with the several classes of cases brought before it, such as first offenders, delinquency cases, etc.

The budget will be prepared by a committee of estimate, consisting of the mayor, the comptroller and the president of the council, instead of the finance committee of the council.

Provision is made for holding special elections on the same day as a state or county election, and various obstacles to the combination of city and county offices have been removed. To a recently an exact portion of the city and to certain outlying territory the charter offers the possibility of separate borough control over public works and public utilities operating wholly within the borough, the borough under these conditions to be

governed by a borough board of three members, of whom one member will be director of the borough department of public works. The members of this board will be elected or appointed (this method of selection is apparently optional with the city council) for six years.

The city comptroller, city attorney, city prosecutor, the judges of the municipal court and the board of education, in addition to the mayor and council, will be elective officers.

At the election in June four alternative charter propositions will be submitted: (1) making it possible for the council to create the office of business manager of departments upon an ordinance to be approved by the people; (2) providing a two year term for all elective officers; (3) providing for district representation in the council; (4) providing for the election of councilmen by proportional representation (list system).

The charter proposes a large number of minor changes in the existing system. It is a complex document. The charter revisers evidently felt it necessary or desirable to enumerate in great detail the powers of the city and the powers and organization of the several departments. They have evidently not taken seriously to heart the lessons of the commission government movement, for the division of responsibility between the various parts of the government is still serious in spite of the suggested changes.

Springfield's Choice between Governments. The citizens' charter commission of one hundred, organized in the fall of 1914 for the purpose of drafting a proposed charter for Springfield, Mass., decided to constitute themselves into two bodies, one for the purpose of drafting a city manager charter, and the other of drafting a highly responsible mayor and council plan.

These two bodies, after spending nearly a year in drafting their charters, presented to the commission of one hundred two completed documents.

The city manager charter provides for the biennial election at large of a council of ten and a school committee of eight, both by proportional representation.

The other charter, commonly called the "federal form," provides for the election of a mayor, and of a council of eleven and a school committee of eight, both of the latter by proportional representation. The elections under the charter are held annually, the council being elected one year and the mayor and school committee the next, the elections to be at large. The mayor appoints the heads of five departments, without confirmation, and is a member of the school committee ex-officio.

A bill containing both charters has been submitted to the state legislature for enactment subject to a referendum to the people at the elections this fall. The referendum provides for two questions being submitted: first, shall the present charter be repealed; and, second, if repealed, shall the new charter be the city manager or the federal plan. The bill is now in the hands of the legislative committee on cities and at the present writing the commission of one hundred is endeavoring to have the city council petition the legislature to allow the bill to be referred to the voters this fall.

The Powers of Commission-Governed Cities. Is the commission plan simply a skeleton organization or do the general state laws embodying this plan confer new powers upon the cities adopting them? That is a question which is bothering people in New York. The attorney-general has held to be unconstitutional section 37 of the optional city government laws. The issue arose over an attempt in Niagara Falls to change the title of "overseer of the poor" to "commissioner of charities." But the opinion of the attorney general recites:

On substance, this section provides that the city council under any of the plans

¹ See National Municipal Review, vol. iii, p. 590.

provided may by ordinance transfer from one officer to another any duties and powers now imposed upon any officer or employe, and when all the duties of an office have been transferred the office shall be deemed abolished. It then proceeds to provide that the council shall have the power to regulate by ordinance the exercise of any power and the performance of any duty by any officer and that upon the adoption of such ordinance every provision of the charter of the city relating thereto shall cease to have any force or effect in such city.

The only limitation provided as to such power is the proviso that such power of regulation by the council shall not extend to provisions regulating the manner of providing franchises, selling real estate or incurring municipal indebtedness or to any provision of law requiring any matter to be submitted to the vote of the electors or taxpayers.

The effect of this section is to delegate to the council so much power of the existing charter as it sees fit, so far as the same relates to the exercises of powers or the performance of duties by and of officers. This would cover practically the whole of the city charter and just how far it would go would depend upon the judgment and discretion of the council and not of the legislature.

The legislature must exercise its judgment and specify what powers it will give and what it will not give so far as local legislation is concerned. When it does want such a power it does not pretend to legislate upon subjects within that power at all, but it must specify the limits of the powers. The optional city government law violates both principles. The legislature does not specify what powers the council may provide for by regulation. It exercises no judgment in that behalf but attempts to say that the council may regulate the exercise of any power of any officer of the city.

Furthermore, so far as the city charters already in force are concerned, the legislature has always specified by its own act what the powers and duties of these officers shall be and what limitations shall be placed upon them, but the optional city government law attempts to delegate to the local council the power to say which part of the judgment of the legislature shall be retained and which part of it rejected. It seems to me perfectly clear that these provisions are unconstitutional.

Niagara Falls has sought to remedy the situation created by this decision by causing a bill to be introduced in the legislature which eliminates from the city's

special charter those sections which are inconsistent with the optional law and enacts the present form of government in the form of a special charter.

St. Paul's Unsatisfactory Charter. The board of freeholders of St. Paul, which under the Minnesota constitution is a permanent body, is apparently dissatisfied with the commission form of government, which was established by a charter amendment proposed by initiative petition in 1912. This amendment, which became effective in 1914, is unique among commission governments in that it provides for little of the flexibility of organization which is usually regarded as essential to the success of the plan.

A majority of the freeholders at a meeting held Feb. 1, adopted a resolution in favor of preparing and submitting to the people a new form of charter along the lines of the so-called "federal" plan. The idea uppermost in the minds of the members of the board of freeholders favoring a new charter is to recommend a system of municipal government consisting of a mayor and council of one body, the members of which shall be elected by wards. The heads of the various departments would be appointed by the mayor and would hold office at his pleasure. The functions of the council would be limited strictly to matters purely legislative in character.

All of the newspapers are opposed to the submission of a new charter at this time, possibly because the one under which the city is at present operating was put in force in June, 1914, and its adoption was due almost entirely to the campaign which the newspapers made for it.

Seattle's Proposed Amendments. Seattle is again on the trail of important charter changes. On March 7 the city voted on three amendments. The most important of these provides for a system of preferential voting and was suggested by former mayor George F. Cotterill. It failed to carry. The same system that is now proposed was rejected by the voters in 1915. Another amendment submitted was designed to place certain city employes, engaged in hazardous occupations, under

the provisions of the state industrial insurance act. This carried. The third amendment was to abolish ward boundaries, divisions that have not been utilized since the change in the number of councilmen from eighteen to nine was adopted in 1910. This amendment was also adopted.

H. S. GILBERTSON.



Preferential Voting.-In Grand Junction, Colo., the city in which it first went into effect, the preferential ballot has just successfully withstood a de-After experience termined assault. with the preferential ballot for six years, in which it was used in four regular elections and some special elections, the voters, by a majority in every precinct of the city, voted down an attempt to abolish the system. One or two points from the campaign arguments on each side are worth mentioning. Its friends, in answer to the charge that the preferential ballot was "confusing," said that it confused none but the politicians and was quite simple to the voters. The verdict of the election tends to prove the truth of this crushing reply. Quite as significant as the arguments of its friends was the argument of its opponents, the chief spokesman for whom, in a letter in a local paper a few days before election, stated the following:

"It is true we [in Grand Junction] were the first to step in where angels feared to tread and we adopted a system no other community had the temerity to try, and we have tried it out and while we have not elected any bad men to office it was not the fault of the system but for the reason we have been very fortunate in having only remarkably clean men aspire to positions in the city, but it is possible under the so-called preferential system for a minority to elect questionable men to office."

He then proceeds to "show" how a minority "might" elect questionable candidates to office by two different methods—both flatly impossible under the specific provisions of the charter!

Lewis J. Johnson.

The Preferential Ballot in California.-California entered the list of preferential ballot cities on December 7, 1915, when the voters of Santa Monica elected three commissioners, five members of the board of education and a police judge. The voters and election officials experienced little difficulty in using the new plan, mainly because of an extensive educational campaign conducted by the press of the city and because of the class for election officials, which was conducted by the city attorney. To "singleshotting" was attributed the defeat of T. H. Dudley, the incumbent mayor, who was a candidate for re-election as commissioner of public safety. Dudley decreased his strength by only 14 per cent of the second and third choices. S. L. Berkley, who was elected, increased his strength by 42 per cent and J. C. Steele, the second man, made a gain of 62 per cent. The new officials take office under a set of charter amendments which radically change the form of the city's government and put into effect the short ballot principle. The council is composed of a commissioner of public safety, who is exofficio mayor, a commissioner of finance and a commissioner of public works. Each commissioner is elected for four years and receives a salary of \$3,000 a year. A board of education of five members and a police judge are also selected by the voters. One of the first moves of the newly elected commission was to appoint Francis J. Heney, as city attorney. The only other appointive office provided for in the charter is that of city engineer.

Public Utility Notes.—Utility Costs in Philadelphia. The consumers of the city of Philadelphia pay annually \$23,000,000 for transit, \$10,000,000 for gas, \$7,000,000 for electricity, \$7,000,000 for telephones, \$2,300,000 for street lighting, a total of \$49,300,000; public property is used for a private gain of more than \$2,000,000 per year; 65 cent gas is a possibility to the Philadelphia consumer by a fair deal; most of the city's public utilities go scot free of supervision of rates and service by city officials. These are but a few of

the interesting facts brought out in the careful and well supported report for the year 1914 by Judson C. Dickerman, chief of the bureau of gas, of Philadelphia.

Of particular value are the electric rate charts giving the comparison of rates in large cities, the results of high pressure gas lamps experiments; the estimated cost of installing and operating a municipal electric plant for the city of Philadelphia, and the capital expenditures, operating costs and profits of the Philadelphia gas works under the private operation of the United gas improvement company.

The annual reports of the Philadelphia bureau of gas until Mr. Dickerman was made chief of the bureau were stereotyped, valueless and stupid. Chief Dickerman has made one of the most valuable public reports that has yet been made on lighting and utility matters by any official of an American city.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

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Public Service Commission Situation in New York.—Following the publication in October, 1915, issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW of an article on "The Crisis in Public Service Regulation in New York," developments have come thick and fast. The Thompson legislative investigating committee had seemed to be discouraged about undertaking any further investigation of the personnel of the commission after Governor Whitman's whitewash of the Tammany commissioners last May. The summer was spent in a study of the public service law, with a view to its revision. However, in October the committee started in again to inquire into the qualifications and acts of the commissioners. The first blood was drawn when the committee inquired into Chairman McCall's ownership of stock in the Kings County electric light and power company. It was supposed that Mc-Call, having been a judge and a man of affairs, must have been too astute to retain the ownership of this stock in plain violation of law when he accepted the chairmanship of the commission. At the first inquiry, however, it developed that he had merely given the stock to his wife.

He claimed that the transfer had been made by an informal memorandum which, however, could not be found, and to which by his own admission no stock transfer stamps had been attached as required by law. Upon this charge, Governor Whitman finally removed him from office about December 1, and much to everybody's surprise appointed in his place Oscar S. Straus, who had been the Progressive candidate for governor in 1912 and whose reputation for ability and highmindedness in public affairs stood very near the head of the list in New York City. Yet it should be said that Mr. Straus had never had any experience in public service commission work, and, being well-advanced in years, could not in fairness be expected to make a success of his new work unless he was supported by associates who would be able to relieve him of the detail drudgery of regulation work. There was every reason to expect that his appointment would restore public confidence in the integrity of the commission, and that in the general executive work properly required of the chairman he would be exceptionally successful, if given as associates on the commission four men of ability, character, capacity for work and knowledge of the problems with which the commission has to deal.

The Thompson committee also investigated the record of Commissioner Robert Colgate Wood and found that he had been mixed up in negotiations with the signal companies in relation to certain rapid transit construction contracts, in such a way as to make his continuance on the commission impossible. I would have said "in such a way as to impair his usefulness on the commission," but, so far as I know, he had never been accused even by his neighbors of having any usefulness in the position, except possibly to his railroad friends. It became known that he was closely associated with the Maher family, the active men in the operation of the Third Avenue Railway system. Certainly, Frederick W. Whitridge, receiver and then President of this system, connoisseur of political literature, and unbridled detractor of the efficiency of the

original Hughes commission, must have been proud of Wood! Before the Thompson committee had completed its work, Wood resigned. He was later indicted for soliciting a bribe in connection with the signal contracts and is now awaiting trial. Governor Whitman promptly appointed in his place Henry W. Hodge, a celebrated construction engineer and a personal friend. Mr. Hodge undoubtedly possesses excellent qualifications for work on the commission in connection with the tremendous construction problems arising out of the subway contracts. It does not appear that he ever had any experience in ratefixing or other regulatory work, and the public was entirely uninformed as to his attitude of mind toward public service corporations. At first it was claimed by Senator Thompson that his appointment had been secured, or at least approved by Lemuel Ely Quigg, politician and "accelerator" of public opinion, and for some years past a recognized member of the legal staff of the Interborough rapid transit company. Subsequently, charge was withdrawn, and the nominations of both Straus and Hodge were confirmed by the senate in January. Mr. Straus's term will expire February 1, 1918, and Mr. Hodge's in 1919.

The committee proceeded to investigate again the records of Commissioners Geo. V. S. Williams and J. Sargent Cram. Nothing very definite was developed against these men other than the corporation sympathics of the one and the passion for ease of the other. Mr. Williams finally concluded to resign, and went off the commission "voluntarily" on February 1, 1916. As Mr. Cram's term was to expire on the same date, the committee did not press its investigation into his official acts.

Shortly after the first of February, Governor Whitman named Travis H. Whitney for the five-year term to succeed Mr. Cram and Charles S. Hervey for the one-year term to succeed Mr. Williams. These nominations were bitterly opposed by Senator Thompson but they were finally confirmed on March 16th. Mr. Whitney has served as secretary to the commission, through good report and

through evil report, from the time of its organization in 1907 down to the present time. He has supported and in turn has enjoyed the favor of three successive chairmen, a Republican, a Tammany Democrat and a Progressive. Mr. Hervey has had long experience as a deputy city comptroller.

Meanwhile, the investigation into the subway contracts and the administration of the public service law will be continued by the Thompson committee until July 1st. There is every indication that there will be another chapter to this story.

DELOS F. WILCOX.1

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Municipal Ownership in Kalamazoo.—On September 7, 1915, propositions for the acquisition of a municipal gas plant, for the entrance of the municipally owned electric plant into commercial lighting, and for the establishment of a public utility commission in charge of utilities now owned or to be acquired by the city were defeated by the voters of Kalamazoo, Michigan. It is believed by the local advocates of municipal ownership of utilities that in spite of this set back, the issue is by no means a dead one in Kalamazoo.

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The Birmingham Situation.—The situation in Birmingham, Alabama, is that of a city with income sufficient to support hardly more than the barest necessities of government. Of the remedial activities begun in 1914, the most necessary one came to nothing on December 27, 1915, with the defeat of a proposed constitutional amendment raising the present tax rate limit.²

¹ New York City.

² The Birmingham tax amendment, which would have given that city the right to vote on the question of increasing her tax rate to \$1.50 a hundred, was defeated by a vote of 27,124 to 18,664, according to official returns. The official vote shows that the amendment carried in only 28 counties of the state. In Jefferson the vote against the amendment was practically two to one. Montgomery and Mobile counties gave large majorities for the amendment. Most of the rural counties went against the amendment. In Covington county the vote was 1,049 to 166 against it.

Birmingham, founded just after the Civil War, is to-day the leading industrial center of the south with a population of about 170,000. For a number of years the city board of commissioners has had financial difficulties to contend with. Operating costs have exceeded revenues, and no remedy has appeared, because, on the one hand, demands for an efficient health, police, fire, educational and all other forms of public service are yearly increasing, and on the other, the revenue possibilities are exhausted.

Having fully realized the serious nature of the problem, the commissioners asked the assistance of a citizens' committee of one hundred, and after its appointment co-operated with it in the work undertaken. Three sub-committees were appointed, one to consider the subject of temporary relief, another to consider means of permanent relief, and the third to investigate the present city activities. All three committees reported in January, 1915.

The report concerning the present city government covers 74 printed pages and describes the situation in each of the departments. In almost every case the need for additional funds is the most striking disclosure. For several departments comparisons with other cities are made, showing that Birmingham spends much less than might well be expected. No city of her size in the country is operated with so small a per capita allowance.

The report of the committee on temporary relief deals with methods of disposing of the floating debt, and that of the committee on permanent relief deals with proposed legislation and the proposed constitutional amendment, which were brought to the attention of the legislature then in session.

Meanwhile, the city commission was making every effort to reduce the cost of government and taking drastic steps toward keeping expenditures within the insufficient revenues. It was estimated that \$340,000 saving was necessary on a basis of last year's figures, a saving that amounts to about 14 per cent of the total cost of running the government. Some of

the steps which have been taken are a reduction of the police force from 170 to 138 men, a reduction of the fire department from 180 to 132 men, an allowance of \$8,000 to the library instead of \$12,000, and so forth. The chief of the welfare department donates her services until the city can again afford to pay her. Most interesting and unusual is the establishment of a fee for attendance at schools. 25 cents a month for grade schools and 50 for high schools, but those who explicitly state that they are unable to pay are exempted from this charge. It is now discovered that the income is only sufficient to permit of a seven-month school term.

In response to the demands of the active citizens of Birmingham, the legislature passed three bills. The first of these increased the number of city commissioners from three to five. Another was so-called "budget" act, and the third was the bill bringing to the vote of the people the proposed constitutional amendment.

The budget act, now in force, has for its purpose the removal of any possibility of permitting current expenditures in the future to exceed revenues. It requires that a "budget" be drawn up prior to or within thirty days after the commencement of the fiscal year. This document shall set forth estimated "receipts and expenditures" for the year. During the year the budget may be adjusted so as to conform to the actual "receipts or revenues for the year." It is then provided that the governing body shall not "expend or contract to expend in any year any amount in excess of the revenue collected or estimated in good faith to be due and payable during that year into the treasury of the city." The act does not apply to capital expenditures and allows exceptions in case of certain emergencies. As a penalty for violation there is provided removal from office.

The proposed constitutional amendment was the most interesting recommendation of all. It was passed by the legislature in substantially its original form. Under this measure the city was not to have complete freedom in fixing its tax rate. In

fact, the present 1 per cent limit could not be exceeded by the governing body unless the electors voted favorably upon a budget presented for their approval. In no case was the rate to exceed 1½ per cent.

The particular reasons for this interesting form of popular budget control may be better understood in the light of another recommendation to the legislature which was not acted upon at the past session. This had for its aim better methods of equalization of taxes in the state and county. According to many reports, great injustice now exists. Certainly better state wide methods would make possible a substantial increase in the assessed valuation of Birmingham property without danger of the city being the loser thereby. The present valuation represents little, if any, more than 50 per cent of actual values. The point of view of the sub-committee on permanent financial relief is made clear in their report. It was expected that in case tax reforms resulted in a decided increase in revenues in Birmingham, there would be no necessity for the voters of the city to authorize, and they could refuse to authorize, a tax levy in excess of 1 per cent. In other words, the aim of the sub-committee was clearly to restrict the power of the city commissioners. Vesting certain powers in the people seems to be the result of the impossibility of securing a constitutional provision that would adjust itself as the assessed value of property approaches the real value. In case of tax reform, the constitutional limit would be so high as perhaps to be ineffective, but the limit which could be imposed by the people would still be of service.

In decided contrast to this evidently well planned combination of restrictions is the fact that in campaigning for its passage, the amendment was referred to as a "home rule" measure. This prospective amendment was rejected by a large majority in the general state wide election held for its especial benefit, and strange as it may seem, the Birmingham count showed that there the disapproval of the measure was greater than it was elsewhere.

The first step which had been taken by Birmingham toward reform, that of wholesale reduction of expenditures, was opposed by many who perhaps failed to grasp the fundamental necessity of a sound financial basis for all governmental work. But the cuts which were made were to be temporary and it was then unanimously voted by the committee of one hundred that an increased tax rate was the only way out of the difficulties. Certainly the result of defeating the constitutional amendment is to leave unaltered the conditions which lie at the heart of the whole trouble.

The feeling on the part of many that tax reform will result in an adequate revenue seems to imply a lack of understanding of the present difficulties. It is certainly futile to hope for local equalization of assessments that can materially increase the city's income, though such equalization is to-day one of the immediate needs. With this matter out of the way, the air may be cleared so that the more deep seated difficulties can be reached.

To understand more fully the extent to which the present tax rate is deficient, it is only necessary to consider the effect of the proposed amendment. Had this socalled "home rule" measure been passed, the city would have had a means of increasing its income that would have sufficed for the present. But even with property assessed at its true value, and with the tax rate set at the proposed maximum, the tax revenues of the city would not be excessive or more than might normally be expected in Birmingham. The per capita revenue would be about \$24, which is the average for cities of from 100,000 to 300,000 inhabitants (including Birmingham) according to the latest census figures. It seems probable, therefore, that the constitutional limit would have operated as a decided check upon revenues in the future, especially as full valuation of property can hardly be hoped for. For the present, however, the city is operating on about half the revenue which would accrue with the proposed maximum rate and full valuation of property.

It is this situation which now has to be met. Too often the losses due to failure to supply adequate service are not easy to realize, though none the less affecting the welfare of the community. In Birmingham this is not the case; the results of the year's experiences have already impressed officials and citizens and further action of some sort may be expected in the not distant future.

Hugh Jackson Reber.1



The Enforced Economy of Hibbing, Minn.—Agreement has been reached in the tax controversy at Hibbing, Minn., which attracted wide attention last fall. The village, owing to the presence of iron mines within its limits, has an assessed valuation of \$84,000,000. The people have had very liberal ideas. Their public buildings are beautiful, their schools are splendid and their great white way is dazzling. The village levy of \$750,000 a year for a population of 10,000 proved not enough; a floating debt of \$1,900,000 accumulated, and a levy for the coming year was initiated that would yield \$1,900,-000, to cover the floating debt. Eleven mining companies, including the U.S. steel corporation, refused to pay their taxes for last year and also joined in an action to prevent tearing up and repaving a street already improved. In that action, a number of engineers testified that the old pavement was good enough for some years; one testified that the improvement was warranted. The court found that there was no plain breach of legislative discretion in the decision of the village council, whatever anyone might think of its good judgment, and so declined to interpose.

As to the general charges of extravagance, it is admitted that providing for a mining town is expensive. During the winter of 1915 the village carried a great many men on the payroll because work was slack in the mines. Many improvements have been scrapped because the whole townsite is underlaid with ore. The village pays for water works and the like in cash instead of issuing bonds. But when, on the request of the mining

¹ New York Training School for Public Service.

companies, a law was proposed in the legislature, limiting the current expense of any municipality to \$25 per capita, Hibbing and some of its neighbors protested so violently against their persecution by the great mining companies that the bill was defeated. It would have affected the actual expenses of Hibbing only. Most small cities have an annual expenditure of \$4 or \$5 per capita.

The compromise was finally reached because the issue of village warrants was too great a burden for Hibbing merchants; the banks would not cash them, the wholesale houses would not receive them, and the business men urged the village authorities to get to some agreement, which was accomplished in November after a siege of six months.

The companies paid their back taxes, with accrued penalties. The village authorities promised to bring their current expense within an allowance of \$24,500 a month. Permanent improvements are not included in that, as for example the water plant, recently completed at a cost of \$500,000. The school budget, which includes well equipped shops and kitchens, physical examinations, psycho analyses, nutriment and correction for the ailments of children of twentythree nationalities, is another matter. The mining companies and the village authorities are in accord in giving the schools the best there is. The township levies are another matter, also, including the respectable sum of \$2,000,000 a year for roads. The compromise relates solely to village taxes.

The other day the Hibbing band announced with regret that it must give up. The village had not seen its way clear to set apart for the band more than \$3,700 where \$8,000 had been asked. The players were willing to go on if the village would add \$1,500 for the leader's salary, but that was impossible. So the band must disband. That shows fairly well how hard Hibbing is hit by the era of economy.

JOHN S. PARDEE.1

Borrowing money on a twelve months' note with interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, is the most recent accomplishment of the commission-manager government in St. Augustine, Florida. When the commission and manager made up the tax roll and budget in January for 1916, provision had to be made not only for the annual sinking fund charges for the \$65,000 water works bonds outstanding, but for current or floating debt of \$40,000, the major portion of which was inherited from past administrations—a small part resulting from the change in the tax paving period from October to February. To meet the entire floating debt and provided for all the services which were contemplated in the 1916 budget would have meant an excessive tax rate and it was therefore decided to reduce the current debt \$18,000 and borrow \$22,000 for twelve months.

The legal rate for loans in Florida is 8 per cent and the city has been paying this amount. As soon as it was determined to extend \$22,000 of the floating indebtedness for another year the manager communicated with a number of banking houses, with the result, first, of an offer of this amount at 7 per cent from a Florida bank, then an offer of 6 per cent from another; next an offer of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent from a southeastern banking institution and finally an offer of \$22,000 for twelve months on a note of the city at the rate of 4 per cent per annum from a New York bank, thus cutting the interest charge in half.

This transaction not only shows what can be accomplished by business management but is also evidence, first, that the credit of the city of St. Augustine is good, and, second, that business conditions are greatly improved, that the money market is excellent at this time for the borrower.

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Refrigeration in the Home.—The necessity of proper refrigeration in the home is not generally appreciated. The growth of bacteria, the cause of food decomposition, is retarded by a temperature below 45° F., a temperature of from 45° to 50° F.

¹ Duluth, Minn.

is slightly more favorable for bacterial growth, and a temperature above 50° F. promotes their rapid growth. In a pamphlet on refrigeration in the home, Dr. John R. Williams points out that even the most favored cities in the United States have periods of climate lasting from five to seven months when the temperature averages above 50° F. During these warm months, artificial means must be resorted to for food preservation. An investigation in Rochester proved that out of 5,450 families, 2,450 do without ice during the year, depending upon the cellar, kitchen or pantry for the preservation of food. That such is inadequate goes without saying, when it is realized that cellar temperatures rarely go below 55° F., and that kitchen and pantry temperatures are usually above 55° F. In those homes using ice, an investigation, by trained investigators, was carried on to ascertain the kind of ice boxes used. The data from 300 examinations were accepted as trustworthy. Of these only 123 had temperatures below 50° F., the other 177 registering above that temperature, and being, therefore, worthless for food preservation. The chief cause of inadequate temperature in the ice box is improper insulation. The necessity for greater care in the selection of ice boxes is evident when it is realized that the expenditure by working people for ice during the four or five warm months is \$5 to \$10 or more. Those in better circumstances spend correspondingly more. At least 60 per cent of this money is wasted and lost in the inefficient and uneconomical refrigerators in use. The waste in ice meltage in Rochester alone (population 230,000) amounts to 60,000 tons yearly, about \$350,000. At least \$100,000 more is wasted yearly in the present competitive system of ice delivery.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

Food Regulations.—New York City.
In July, 1915, the department of health
of the city of New York issued a pamphlet
on "Food Regulations." These regulations are quite comprehensive in their

scope, covering the following: retail stores, food factories and wholesale establishments, frozen product factories, kitchen, dining and serving rooms of hotels, restaurants, cafés, grill rooms, boarding houses, lunch rooms, buffets and saloons, egg breaking establishments, sale of eggs, sausage factories and smoking and preserving meat establishments. Under retail stores, regulations are prescribed for all retail stores, butcher stores, fish stores, ice-cream and candy stores. Under factory regulations, rules for screening, refrigeration, food protection, etc., are given. Selected sections of the sanitary code covering cold storage, food and drink are set forth.

C. L. K.

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Markets.—Springfield, Ohio. The city commission of Springfield, Ohio, recently paved the way for better market facilities by amending the old market ordinance so as to reserve to the city the right to take over the market spaces at any time, provided adequate adjustment is made in rental charges, and also the right to rearrange either the stands or the rental rates. It was the sense of the commission that early this year the city will build coverings for the outside stands, equip them with modern facilities as to light and heat, and raise the rentals proportionately with the improvements.

C. L. K.

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Wider Use of the School Plant.—The year 1915 proved a year of substantial progress in one of the most significant of recent social and educational developments, namely the wider use of the school plant. From all quarters come reports of advance in that direction.

First of all should be mentioned the fact that Edward J. Ward has been called from the University of Wisconsin to the United States bureau of education to direct the work of community center organization throughout the nation. Mr. Ward, in a sense the father of the recent movement for using the school-house as a

social center, was for five years director of the work in the University of Wisconsin extension division. He was responsible for the law of 1911 which opened the school-houses of that state as forums of public discussion by directing school boards to provide the necessary facilities. He was also sponsor for the civic secretary bill of 1915 which made provision for a paid secretary to carry on the community school center work. This is a most important measure for, as the experience of Wisconsin and of other states has clearly shown, the community center development suffered most seriously from the lack of a definitely responsible organ for promoting the work. What Wisconsin has lost in the departure of Mr. Ward to the federal post will unquestionably be more than offset by the gain to the movement throughout the United States, although the activities and example of Mr. Ward even while at Wisconsin were nation wide in their influence. One of the specific uses of the school-houses which he was particularly enthusiastic about encouraging was that as a polling place, a development which involves no additional expenditure for either the election or the school authorities and the advantages of which should lead to its widespread adoption at an early date.

Among the other states to take legislative action with regard to this matter is Ohio, which recently enacted the principles of the Wisconsin law by providing for the use of school-houses as social centers in the widest sense and making provision for raising the necessary funds for this wider use.

From Boston, where by a law of 1912 there is a special department under the school committee with a "director for the extended use of public schools" comes an interesting report of activities at the close of 1915. Under the law mentioned above two cents on each \$1,000 worth of rated property are set aside for the work of the department, yielding a sum of about \$30,000 for the past year. The activities financed are listed as follows:

1. Home and school associations, both large monthly meetings and board meet-

ings. Light, heat, and janitor service being paid by the department.

- 2. Alumni meetings. Same services paid by the department.
- 3. Lecture course given in five languages on citizenship topics.
- 4. Lecture course in English: The development of North and South America and the relation of the two continents.
- 5. Certain teachers' extension courses and playground teachers' meetings.
- 6. The operation of seven school centers serving seven communities in the city. These centers were open from two to three nights a week and from two to three afternoons.

While Boston is thus showing what can be done to make better use of the school plant in the large city, Chicago is beginning to consider ways and means for accomplishing the same result. A special committee of the city council was appointed there last year to consider and report on the availability of every public school building for social center purposes, and the conditions in each community. While this committee was sitting the city club issued a report on the use of schools for social centers making specific recommendations to the school board. Schools had indeed been used for such purposes for several years in a number of parts of the city, but the report of the city club stated them to be unsatisfactorily conducted and recommended a number of fundamental changes. The combined efforts and investigation of the city club, the school board and the council, will doubtless result in a development of this work along the most effective lines.

The ever more widespread application of the school social center idea is evidenced by reports of school-house meetings from all parts of the country, and wherever the idea is adequately set forth it appears to meet with almost immediate and universal acceptance. Miss Margaret Wilson in a recent lecture tour of the middle west advocated the extension of the social center idea and seems to have met with a ready sympathy and response.

Our universities, too, are devoting more and more attention to furthering this

movement through the extension departments. As one example of this activity may be cited a recent bulletin of the University of Indiana on the community school-house. This bulletin, issued by the extension division, is offered as a suggestive aid to those who are interested in the social center movement in Indiana. It comprises a set of lecture notes on the community school-house with lantern slides which are loaned free of charge to any school library or club in the state. Besides the lecture notes the bulletin comprises suggestions for study of various phases of the social center movement together with a select bibliography.

The University of Texas is encouraging rural school-house meetings by sending out through its extension department printed questions and answers relating to matters of fundamental concern to rural dwellers to be discussed at semi-monthly public meetings in the school-house. With the co-operation of the rural teachers the school-houses have thus become a forum for intelligent discussion of the most vital matters for the rural dwellers.

HERMAN G. JAMES.

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Race Segregation in St. Louis.-The first popular vote by use of the initiative under the new St. Louis city charter, and the first popular vote in the United States on the question of negro segregation resulted in adopting the segregation ordinance by a three to one vote on February 29. Seventy-two thousand voters, one half of the total registered, cast their ballots. Of the eighteen thousand votes cast against segregation about nine thousand were those of negroes. The only white wards which voted against it were two in the down town district inhabited by citizens of foreign birth. The election marked the end of a six-year year fight led by small property owners and real estate dealers, to secure the segregation of the races. Every attempt to get the city's legislative body to pass such an ordinance has failed. The advocates of segregation were among the foremost supporters of the initiative and referendum amendment to the old charter and amendments to the direct legislation features of the new. It has been the consensus of opinion all along that negro segregation would be one of the first propositions submitted under direct legislation.

The ordinances were not vigorously opposed because it was apparent from the start that it would be almost impossible to make much headway against almost universal race prejudice and the interests of small property owners. However, a strong citizens committee of one hundred was formed, composed of leading whitemen who believed segregation a violation of American principles. The Post Dispatch was vigorous in its opposition, but the other daily papers either let the subject as much alone as they could, or were inclined to favor it in their news columns. The leading republican organ made no editorial mention of the issue at all, and the local republican party failed to oppose it actively. The socialist party and the entire foreign press were unanimously against the ordinance. Although the churches were appealed to very few ministers took any stand. Much prejudice against the negro had doubtless been aroused by the long run of the "Birth of a Nation" which was shown only a few months ago.

One definite result of value was the testing of the initiative clause of the charter in the supreme court of the state, which upheld its validity. The segregation ordinances will be taken into the courts at the first opportunity and, together with the Louisville ordinance and those in litigation elsewhere, will be carried to the United States supreme court.

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Cities in the United States with City Planning Commissions. —Massachusetts—Adams, Amherst, Arlington (town), Attleboro, Beverly, Boston, Brockton, Brockline (town), Cambridge, Chelsea, Chicopee, Clinton (town), Everett, Fitchburg, Framingham (town), Gardner, Gloucester, Holyoke, Hudson (town), Lawrence, Lowell, Malden, Medford, Melrose, Newburyport, Newton, Northampton, Plymouth (town),

¹ Prepared by Flavel Shurtleff, secretary of the National conference for city planning.

Pittsfield, Quincy, Salem, Somerville, Springfield, Taunton, Wakefield (town), Waltham, Watertown (town), Wellesley, (town), Westfield (town), Weymouth (town), Winthrop (town), Winchester (town), Worcester (town), Woburn (town), Walpole, (town).

Rhode Island-Providence.

Connecticut—Bridgeport, Hartford, New Britain, New Haven, New London, West Hartford.

New York—Binghamton, New York City, Rome, Syracuse, Troy, White Plains, County Commission.

New Jersey—Camden, East Orange, Newark, Trenton.

Pennsylvania — Allentown, Chester, Easton, Erie, Franklin, Harrisburg, Johnstown, Meadville, Newcastle, Oil City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Pittston, Pottsville, Reading, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, York.

Maryland—Baltimore, Cumberland.

Ohio--Cleveland.

Illinois-Chicago.

Michigan-Detroit.

Minnesota-St. Paul.

Missouri-St. Louis.

Kansas-Kansas City.

Nebraska-Lincoln.

Kentucky-Louisville, Paducah.

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Louisiana—Shreveport.

California—Alameda, Berkeley, Oakland, San Francisco, San Rafael.

Libraries Under Commission Government.—It has been something of a disappointment to librarians that the National Municipal League has not taken up more definitely the question of the status of libraries in cities which have recently adopted the commission form of government. In a number of cases at least libraries have fared worse under the new form of government than under the old. Their fate was bad enough under the old and it is distinctly discouraging that the cities themselves and municipal experts in general have not recognized the importance of libraries sufficiently to insist that they be more adequately provided for. On the coast at least, the schools seem to obtain most generous appropriations and an appeal to the taxpayer, on their behalf, meets with a ready response, but the libraries are struggling along with meager appropriations which compel them to limit their activities. They are, however, an educational agency that deserves to rank with the schools.

I wonder if the League has given the attention to this question that it ought to receive, and is aware that in many cases the commission form of government has proved detrimental to our work.

EVERETT R. PERRY.1

II. POLITICS:

Chicago's Civil Service.-During the past ten months the people of Chicago have been engaged in a bitter struggle to prevent Mayor Thompson and his followers from capturing the city civil service and using the 25,000 positions therein to destroy popular government. The mayor has chosen a vulnerable spot in the law for his operations: his power to appoint and to remove the civil service administrators, a power that is vested in him by the statute. The subserviency of the civil service commission once assured, wholesale temporary authority may be granted and various devices resorted to for placing political henchmen temporarily on the city payroll. A brief review of the specific facts is instructive:

In April, 1915, the mayor appointed to the civil service commission a man known chiefly as a faithful minor follower of Senator Lorimer. With him, the mayor associated, as colleagues, a lieutenant of detectives and an investigator with experience as a thief-catcher in the state attorney's office; and when the first of these colleagues died early in November the mayor named in his stead a real estate

¹ Librarian, Los Angeles public library.

² Unless otherwise indicated the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff

dealer, generally known as a supporter of the mayor's party manager. In a candid interview in the press of November 11, 1915, the new commissioner said: "I am going up against something I know nothing about. My understanding with the mayor is that I am to do nothing unjustified.

One of the commission's first acts was to lay off the efficiency examiners.1 Lack of work and funds were the reason given. but as soon as the experts, who had been collected and trained in the efficiency division after years of patient and careful work, were gone, the commission filled their places with the mayor's henchmen and personal friends, ignoring existing reinstatement and eligible lists from which under the law, certification should have been made. Suits are pending in the courts which will probably result in the payment by the city of two salaries for the same position-one to the henchman and one to the lawful holder. The provisions of law authorizing "temporary appointments not to exceed sixty days pending regular appointments," but "only to meet extraordinary exigencies" and "to prevent the stoppage of public business" have been construed by the new commission in a way to create public alarm.

Before the Chicago civil service reform association, the city council and certain newspapers were debarred from access to the commission's records and an official circular issued by the mayor's government that employes supplying information concerning the service would be treated as disloyal, it was ascertained that in the short period of four months no less than 9,162 temporary appointments had been made. Many of them were to high salaried offices; some of them were renewals, and all were contrary to the spirit of the merit system. In one instance room for the temporary appointment of a party worker was made personally in a peculiarly high-handed manner by the mayor. Against the wishes of the head of the department an officer in the classified service was discharged "on probation,"

¹ See National Municipal Review, vol. iv, p. 662.

after his probationary period had expired. This act the court has held to be illegal, and the officer will go back. But in Chicago, as elsewhere, many of the most competent civil servants will not litigate their rights in the face of the united opposition of the mayor and his civil service commission, but seek employment where their services are likely to be appreciated. The illegal practice of the commission in suspending eligible lists, pending investigation of some gossip or charge that the examinations which produced them were bad, makes more room for temporary appointees.

Occasionally a variation of operation appears. On a police captain's list the 45th man is certified and appointed. President Whitman of the reform association is sued for \$50,000 in slander and libel. The Civil Service News is sued for \$150,000. A recalcitrant alderman's brother is discharged from the service for lack of work. Charges are preferred against a city officer who is a director in the reform association. A junior stenographer is laid off and her position taken by a henchman under the specious title of "special examiner." So far the work of the examination division and the trial board have not been directly interfered with, because lay-offs for lack of work or funds coupled with temporary appointments in the face of reinstatement and eligible lists are amply sufficient.

Nothing so far has arrested the mayor or the commission in their course; neither the accumulating litigation, nor the call of the association for the removal of the commissioners, the protests of the press, the hostility of the city council, nor the almost unanimous condemnation of these outrages by the organs of public opinion. The mayor, speaking of himself in the third person and referring to his violation of his pre-election pledges, says that "Big Bill Thompson is big enough to acknowledge that he made a mistake when he signed that pledge." He is further quoted as saying of the reform association: "Big Bill hasn't time to monkey with that outfit. It showed in its last letter that it didn't seem to be making any effort to tell

the truth. All they are trying to do is to criticise the civil service commission by misrepresentation."

If campaign managers are correct in their standardization of a party worker's duty, that he should deliver nine votes or more, and the mayor can gain possession of the 25,000 positions in the city service or of any large proportion of them, as well as of the negro vote, which he is courting on a most elaborate scale, he can defy the people of Chicago and run the risks of prosecution. And this is exactly what "Big Bill" is doing. Prosecution he is not afraid of; at the worst, only some of his tools on the city's civil service commission could be indicted and prosecuted. The risk in this direction is slight, moreover. The state's attorney has been repeatedly and publicly asked to take action; evidence has been laid before him by the more independent aldermen and members of civic organizations; the January grand jury referred to the scandalous situation in its presentment and expressed satisfaction over the fact that evidence of violation of the civil service laws is being studied by the state's attorney; but so far no deed or word has come from the office of the public prosecutor.

Meantime the impetuous and erratic mayor has carelessly permitted himself to become entangled in another controversy-a controversy with the Municipal voters' league. That strong and influential organization issued its regular bulletin on the outgoing aldermen. In dealing with council activities, and aldermanic records, it had to refer to the mayor-council disputes, including that which concerns the merit system and its subversion by lawless removals and sixty-day appointments. The league did not attack the whole Thompson administration undertake, even by implication, to pass judgment on its stewardship up to date. It did, of course, "take sides" where this could not be avoided. To quote these relevant specimen sentences from its bulletin:

The new civil service "Wrecking crew" [made] an attempt to discredit the aldermanic crime committee of 1914.

The crime committee's recommendations had been unanimously ratified by the council, by the legislature in enacting state statutes, by the people in voting bond issues for better reformatory agencies, and by the state's attorney in repeated public statements. Nevertheless, Civil Service Commissioners Coffin and Geary disregarded the rotten conditions uncovered by the council's crime committee, claimed to be the sole agency authorized by law to investigate them and tried to discredit the work of the crime-committee by showing some of its investigators belonged to the criminal classes.

The Coffin-Geary attitude is indicated by the following printed statement issued

by them:

"Neither the council nor any of its committees is possessed of the power to investigate the police department, the fire department, the health department, the department of public works, the board of education, nor the civil service commission, or any other department or bureau. The power is vested solely with us and we will proceed to exercise it as occasion warrants. . . The civil service commission itself according to law will do all the investigating that is to be done in the city hall in the near future, going into each department and scrutinizing the conditions prevailing therein." This impudent denial of the council's right to get information on matters concerning which it must legislate, is worthy of the men who tried to wreck the efficiency division and tear the hands off the clock of municipal progress.

The mayor lost no time in replying in characteristic style to the league's indictment of his commission and its general attitude toward the council. He denounced the league's statements as "lies"; he coarsely attacked the directors of the league, threatened libel suits, assured the public that his appointees were not only honorable and law-abiding, but ideal men for their positions, and that the league was deliberately dishonest and unfair in its methods. These tirades were followed by a cheap and crude attempt to "steal" the name of the league, or incorporate another body under a similar name, and confuse the public mind by reports and statements from that "fake" league. Of course, the Municipal voters' league treated this stratagem with the contempt it deserved, calling the alleged founders of the rival league a "band of counterfeiters."

The press and the educated public have not been fooled by the mayor's "stroke." The attempt is a ludicrous fiasco. But the mayor and his tools, most of whom are discredited professional politicians, flatter themselves that they can defy or ignore the intelligent electorate. They go on making wild, silly and absurd statements in the hope that legions of careless or ignorant voters will believe at least some of them.

VICTOR YARROS.1

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Other Attacks on the Civil Service.— The new administrations in Philadelphia and Cleveland have promptly taken up the question of the reorganization of the civil service, with a view to letting down some of the higher bars. In both cities new civil service commissions have been appointed and they have endeavored so to change the rules as to enable the mayors and the heads of departments to have a freer hand in the matter of appointments.

The attack in Cleveland seems to have been the more vigorous and successful. In Philadelphia, Mayor Smith has definitely retained a number of the Blankenburg appointees, notably the chiefs of the bureaus of water and highways, two extremely important bureaus, and has so far refrained from expelling a number of others who made excellent records in his predecessor's administration. While there has been some reaction from the standards of the Riter-Bolger-VanDusen commission, it has not been so great nor so extended as was expected. It was unfortunate that Mayor Blankenburg established a precedent of appointing an entirely new civil service commission at the beginning of his term instead of filling in the commission with new appointees as the terms of the old members expired. The natural sequence was that the present mayor following the Blankenburg precedent removed the Riter commission and appointed his own.

1 Chicago.

Des Moines Commission Government Again Attacked.—Newspapers publish stories from time to time to the effect that commission government in a particular city has broken down. The latest of these relates to Des Moines, which seems to be a favorite object of attack. It was sent out as a United press story. This particular story was to the effect that the "so-called Des Moines plan of city government, one of the first forms of commission government, which attracted much favorable attention the country over when it was adopted seven years ago, is branded a failure by Councilman W. F. Mitchell and a considerable percentage of the citizens. Mitchell was put into office to see if he couldn't reorganize affairs and make the plan successful. His resignation has been tendered, effective this spring. Mitchell says the city manager plan should be adopted by Des Moines." The despatch alleged that the bonded and floating indebtedness of Des Moines has increased nearly \$1,000,000 since the plan was put in force seven years ago. "The plan was heralded as one which would eliminate partisan politics from all municipal elections, place the responsibility for the success or failure of the city government upon the heads of the individual commissioners and generally make for economy and efficiency. Mitchell says politics has not been eliminated and that financially the plan has accomplished no good. Mitchell favors electing councilmen by districts rather than at large, paying them for one meeting a week. He believes all municipal executive control should be vested in the city manager, together with power to enforce all laws and ordinances and to control all city work. Mitchell believes this would kill the political phase which he believes has made the old Des Moines plan useless."

Such a story aroused a lot of comment, but it varied from the facts in certain important particulars. According to Mayor Hanna, who is serving his third term as mayor and thus breaking the two-term precedent: "Mr. Mitchell was elected on a one-term platform and he simply stated that he is going to stick to his

platform." Moreover, Mr. Mitchell has not branded the commission plan a failure; nor has the bonded and floated indebtedness been increased nearly a million dollars. This latter statement is ascribed to Commissioner - Mitchell, but is given apparently upon the authority of the correspondent. It is true there has been a considerable increase in the bonded debt, but it is also true, as Mayor Hanna points out, "that for every dollar of additional bonded debt there are at least two dollars of permanent improvements. In other words, the city has paid all current expenses out of its current revenues, and has also paid 50 per cent on the cost of all permanent improvements. For example, four great street-wide concrete bridges and viaducts have been erected in the heart of the city at a cost of \$525,000, one-half of which is already paid for and the other half is being paid for in annual instalments and not left for future generations to bear. The market house was paid for in cash. The city hall costing \$428,000 is one-third paid for; the old park and cemetery debts have been discharged: park grounds in the civic center have been bought and paid for at a cost of \$125,000; seven suburban roads have been built and paid for. Furthermore, all new bonds have been put upon a serial basis. Old bonds have been partly paid off and partly refunded on a serial basis and a bond sinking fund has been established for the old 20-year bonds still outstanding."

Mayor Hanna declares that "partisan politics have been entirely eliminated from city elections and the conduct of city business. To be sure every municipal question of general interest has its political aspect and must and should continue to have its political aspect. Large municipal improvements and municipal politics must and should be decided in accordance with the desire of the majority. Certain public officers, too, will always be found to play petty politics upon occasions. That must always be expected. Commission government cannot change human nature. It can only make it easier for conscientious,

honest and capable men to succeed and make it more difficult for dishonest and incapable men to succeed."

Another misstatement was in stating that Mr. Mitchell favored electing councilmen by districts rather than at large. He has at no time ever said such a thing. Mr. Mitchell has not even recommended the city manager plan. "Like many others he believes the commission plan is a great advance in city government. He does not believe, however, that it is impossible of improvement. He has made the valuable suggestion of an officer to be appointed under the council who should have very large powers as a sort of director of public works. This would relieve councilmen of much administrative detail and at the same time would take the job hunter off the back of the elective officer. It would also give councilmen time to give more attention to legislative detail."

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The Sandusky Situation.—The somewhat embarrassing situation that existed for about the first month that the commission-manager form of government was in force in Sandusky was not due to the provisions of the new charter, but altogether to the five persons constituting the city commission. For the most part at least the commissioners are men who have more than fair ability, who are honest and in good standing in the community. The prospect was, therefore, with the election of these gentlemen, that Sandusky had every assurance of an efficient and business-like administration.

It developed, however, shortly after the new form of government became effective that the commission could not get together on organization and it appears largely for the reason that they were hopelessly divided on the election of their chairman, who under our charter becomes the mayor. For almost two weeks the commission failed to elect its president, and the dead-lock which existed during that time seemed to have caused dissention among the members of the commission to such a degree that for some time afterwards each member of the commission on general principles opposed everything that any other member might suggest, with the result that instead of administering the affairs of the city at its meetings these were occasions only of affording the members of the commission an opportunity to vent their personal feelings.

The commission did elect after considerable agitation a city manager, and doubtless made a wise selection in Kenneth Ward, as well as in the selection of the city solicitor and the present treasurer. The failure of the commission so far to produce satisfactory results is further due to the fact that its members are not yet fully acquainted with the spirit and letter of the charter. The past few weeks, however, have demonstrated that the commission is becoming acquainted with its duties and that its members are able to discuss city affairs dispassionately.

Probably the chief reason why the new form of government has not more creditably demonstrated itself is the same as would be attendant upon any radical change in either governmental or business affairs. A period of adjustment is always experienced under such changes. It is hoped that within the next few months the commission-manager form of government in Sandusky will come up to the fondest expectations of those who furthered the adoption of its new charter.¹

This view of the Sandusky situation is held by many of the people of the city.

Nashville's Municipal Election, held for the selection of two city commissioners to take the place of those ousted by the court, resulted in the election of Paul W. Treanor, for finance commissioner, and George J. Tomkins, for fire commissioner. Both ran as anti-administration candidates. The principal fight was between Treanor and a candidate named Armstrong. The latter had the backing of the Howse faction and the firm of Pitts & McConnico, attorneys for the deposed city commissioners. Backing Treanor were Stokes & Cherry, attorneys prosecuting the "ouster" suit against Howse. Mr. Stokes declared that if Armstrong should be elected he would go before the chancellor and withdraw from the lawsuit. An "ouster" bill, seeking to remove Chief of Police Alex Barthell and City Detective Mose Dixon was presented by Attorney Stokes, chief counsel for the taxpayers in the city hall scandal.

¹ From a letter from a well known member of the Sandusky bar. Editor.

The outcome of the ouster case in the supreme court was, a correspondent says, gratifying. "We accomplished more than we ever thought could be accomplished, in that the supreme court after ousting Mayor Howse from his office, practically disqualified him politically by the construction given by them to the provisions of our ouster law. They held that any acts of misfeasance or malfeasance, or acts indicating official unworthiness occurring even during a former term are grounds of ouster. Howse threatens now to run again, but under the broad rule announced by the supreme court a petition could be filed, based upon the same acts relied upon in the case just concluded, and he could be removed from office upon these same grounds."

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Memphis Ouster Cases.—The Tennessee supreme court also decided the Memphis ouster cases involving Mayor E. H. Crump and Commissioner R. A. Utley, the charge against them being the failure to enforce the prohibition laws. They were ousted November 3, by chancery decree, on pleas of guilty entered "to expedite an appeal" to the supreme court. The cases of Crump and Utley differed from the Nashville cases, the two defendants having previous to the ouster proceedings been re-elected for new terms beginning January 1, last. The supreme court sustained their ouster from office, but held that the proceedings did not apply to their new terms. Attorneys have construed sections of the former opinion specifically to uphold the contention that officials may be ousted upon convictions of malfeasance during a former term of office. These attorneys declare that under the opinion proceedings may be instituted against Crump and Utley as soon as they are sworn in for their new terms. This construction has been placed on the case by Gen. G. T. Fitzhugh of Memphis, special counsel of the state, who announced that he would at once file new ouster proceedings against Crump and Utley.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS.1

Preferential Voting.—The preferential system of voting has recently become a serious bone of judicial contention. The Minnesota supreme court has held invalid the preferential vote feature of the Duluth charter.2 The New Jersey supreme court has reached a contrary conclusion in a similar case.3 The court of common pleas of Lucas county, Ohio, on December 27, 1915, upheld the election of Charles M. Milroy as mayor of Toledo on a preferential ballot. Of these decisions the only one which is final, even within the jurisdiction in which it was rendered, is that in the Duluth case. The question of the validity of this method of election, therefore, is still an open one, and the answer which is to be given to it is a matter of great moment to the friends of municipal progress.

The cases involving the preferential system are very few in number. The favorable decision by the Oregon supreme court in the case of State v. Portland 4 was based on a specific provision of the constitution of that state authorizing preferential voting and is therefore of no value as far as the general legal problem is concerned. In Farrel v. Hicken⁵ the Minnesota supreme court decided that the provision of the Duluth charter requiring a voter to express as many first choices as there are positions to be filled was not an unconstitutional limitation of the freedom of suffrage. The same result was reached in New Jersey in the case of Orpen v. Watson. So far the authorities, such as they are, agree. A second point, however, was raised in the New Jersey case—that the provision for the expression of preferences was a violation of an implied constitutional restriction against casting a vote for more than one candidate for the same

office. This is rather an absurd ground of attack, but the court took it seriously enough to make a somewhat labored explanation of its decision that preferential voting was not such a violation of the constitution. This case never reached the court of errors and appeals on its merits, and cannot be regarded as a very weighty authority in favor of the preferential system.

In the case of Brown v. Smallwood there was presented to the Minnesota court a point which, curiously enough, was not presented when the Duluth charter was previously before it. In this latter case it was argued that the counting of second and third choices deprived each voter of that equal share in elections guaranteed by the constitution when it gave to him the right to vote for all elective officers. The court upheld this contention. Its language is worthy of special note.

It was never meant that the ballot of one elector, cast for one candidate, could be of greater or less effect than the ballot of another elector cast for another candidate. It was to be of the same effect. It was never thought that with four candidates one elector could vote for the candidates one elector could vote for the candidate of his choice, and another elector could vote for three candidates against him. The preferential system greatly diminishes the right of an elector to give an effective vote for the candidate of his choice. If he votes for him once, his power to help him is exhausted. If he votes for other candidates he may harm his choice but cannot help him.

The opinion also quotes with approval from State v. Thompson,⁶ "Our system of government is based upon the doctrine that the majority rules. This does not mean a majority of marks but a majority of persons." It then continues: "In the case at bar it may be noted that the number of persons who voted were 12,313, and that the number of cross marks considered on the plurality election were 18,860. It was not a voting of man against man."

^{6 131} N. W. 231 at 239 (North Dakota),

 $^{^1\,\}mathrm{Edited}$ by Thomas H. Reed, University of California.

² Brown v. Smallwood, 153 N. W. 953.

^{*} Orpen v. Watson, 93 Atlantic 853.

^{4 133} Pacific 62.

^{5 147} N. W. 815.

Considerable reliance is placed by the court on the line of decisions denying the constitutionality of the "limited" and "cumulative" systems of voting. It must be admitted that the weight of authority is against these systems except where the constitution specifically authorizes them. There are, however, objections both as to form and purpose which can be alleged against them which are not applicable to the preferential system.

It is true as the court suggests that, as a matter of history, our constitution makers of ten years or more ago never had in mind the preferential system of voting. It is equally certain as Judge Hallam declares in his dissenting opinion that "the framers had in mind only the matter of defining what persons should be entitled to vote. . . . Methods of voting never entered their minds, and they never supposed they were prohibiting any method of election which did not deny equality of right among voters." The Pennsylvania supreme court in Commonwealth v. Reeder,1 one of the few cases in which the limited vote has been upheld, laid down a very good rule for such cases when it said, "No sound reason has been urged in the argument why we should enlarge the scope of the words 'shall be entitled to vote at all elections' by practically adding 'also for every candidate of a group of candidates for the same office.' On any sound principle of constitutional interpretation the only consideration in determining the validity of a new method of election should be its conformity to the standard of equality." The efforts of the Minnesota court to prove that the preferential ballot makes for inequality are based on an entire misconception of the nature of the system. No one can successfully contend that under it each voter does not have an equal opportunity to express his choice for public office. In fact it is the essence of fairness. Under it each citizen has a far more effective opportunity of expressing his will than under the old plurality system. The sort of "effectiveness" which the court seems to have in mind could only be achieved if every voter's choice were to be a winning candidate. The court's conception of the law was correct enough but its political science somewhat weak. It is to be hoped that this singular and wrongheaded decision will not be generally followed.

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Zone Ordinances-Recent Decisions on the Police Power .- One of the important phases of the city planning movement is the so-called "zone-ordinance" by which specified portions of the city are restricted to separate residences, while in others flats or tenements and in still others varying grades of business are permitted. Such restrictions of the use of private property can be justified only under the police power the limits of which have never been precisely determined. Three recent decisions of the federal supreme court throw some light on how far zone ordinances may go within the limits of the "due process of law" and "equal protection of the laws" provisions of the fourteenth amendment. They represent the extreme limits to which the definition of the police power has been extended in this direction.

The first of these cases is that of Reinman v. Little Rock,2 which involved the constitutionality of an ordinance prohibiting livery stables within a specified area. The court held it to be clearly within the police power. "So long," it said, "as the regulation in question is not shown to be clearly unreasonable and arbitrary, and operates uniformly upon all persons similarly situated in the particular district, the district itself not appearing to have been arbitrarily selected," it is constitutional. In Hadacheck v. Sebastian 2 the question was as to the validity of an ordinance of the City of Los Angeles prohibiting the operation of a brick kiln within a specified area of about three square miles. The court sustained the decision of the California

^{2 237} U.S. 171.

^{* 239} U.S. 394.

supreme court ¹ that "the prohibition was not a mere arbitrary invasion of private right, not supported by any tenable belief that the continuance of the business was so detrimental to the interests of others as to require suppression." In delivering the opinion of the court Mr. Justice McKenna made use of certain expressions which have aroused the hopes of the advocates of the zone idea.

A vested interest cannot be assigned against it (the police power) because of conditions once obtaining (Chicago & A. R. Co. v. Tranbarger 238 U. S. 67). So to hold would preclude development and fix a city forever in its primitive conditions. There must be progress, and if in its march private interests are in the way, they must yield to the good of the community. The logical result of the petitioner's contention would seem to be that a city could not be formed or enlarged against the resistance of an occupant of the ground, and that if it grows at all it can only grow as the environment of the occupations that are usually banished to the purlieus.

The decision in the case of Northwestern Laundry Co. v. Des Moines ² upheld the constitutionality of a very severe smoke ordinance. ". . . the harshness of such legislation," said the court, "or its effect on business interests, short of merely arbitrary enactment, are not valid constitutional objections."

The other side of the picture is presented in Stubbs v. Scott.3 Scott applied for a permit to build a block of stores one of which was to be used as a salesroom for automobiles. The permit was refused on the ground that the district was residential. The Maryland court of appeals rested its decision on the broad ground that Scott could not be deprived of the right to improve his lot by the erection of stores simply because the character of the proposed building did not correspond to the character of other buildings in the neighborhood. It distinguished such a restriction from regulation of the use of automobiles, the storage of gasoline, etc., which are within the scope of the police

power.4 Numerous authorities were cited for the proposition that mere æsthetic considerations are not sufficient to justify a regulatory-ordinance. Admitting that the erection of a store in certain districts might injuriously affect other property, the court was of the opinion that there was no way of preventing it.

This case probably correctly represents the present state of the law. Hadacheck v. Sebastian expresses the utmost limit of the police power to date. A brick-yard has, with its smoke, dust, etc., a clear physical effect on surrounding property. Considerations of taste and of stabalizing property values have yet to be recognized as within the scope of the police power. Even in the bill-board cases, restrictive ordinances have had to be defended on the ground of danger to health, good order and morals resulting from such structures.5 This does not mean that such recognition will never be given. What at any time constitutes a nuisance is a matter of contemporary public opinion. The time may come when a store in a residence district will be recognized as a nuisance.

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The Initiative and Referendum .--In Shryock v. Zanesville 6 the Ohio supreme court has decided that the referendum in cities is to be given a fair chance. The plaintiff in opposing the plans for a new water supply sought to establish that the legislature had no authority to allow municipalities to adopt emergency ordinances not subject to the referendum. The court held it to be its duty "to avoid giving to the provisions of the constitution on that subject a strained construction which by reason of its very burdensomeness and unreasonableness would tend to depopularize it." It therefore determined that the legislature was acting within its powers in

¹ 132 Pacific 584.

^{2 239} U.S. 486.

³ 95 Atlantic 1060.

⁴ See also *People* v. *Stroebel*, 103 N. E. 735, in which the New York Court of Appeals declared that an ordinance forbidding the erection of buildings for the sale of automobiles, etc., would be unconstitutional.

⁶ See National Municipal Review, vol. iv, p. 312.

^{6 110} N. E. 937.

giving municipalities power to pass such ordinances.

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Illinois Civil Service in the Courts.—A recent decision of the supreme court in Illinois holds against the right of the state civil service commission to inaugurate efficiency tests which include calling employes together and compelling them to undergo a written examination. A number of such tests have been held by the state commission and one employe

ordered to take such a test refused and took her case to the courts. This ruling is in line with one several years ago when the chief of police gave efficiency tests to policemen in Chicago. The ruling at that time was that the chief as head of the department might require policemen under civil service to show that they were still physically capable of performing the duties incumbent upon them but it denied the right of the civil service commission to inaugurate such tests.

R. E. Blackwood.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Notes on the Meeting of the City Managers' Association.—After a brief address of welcome by Henry M. Waite, city manager of Dayton, and a response by President Ashburner, the association settled promptly to the business and educational part of the meeting. Most of the morning was spent in the study of Dayton's municipal system.

The president at the afternoon session introduced M. H. Hardin, of Amarillo, Texas, who spoke on the subject of new ideals in civic administration. He said in part that "in order to make an ideal civic administration it is necessary to adopt the commission-manager plan of government, in that it eliminates boss rule and political influences, concentrates and centralizes responsibility, and puts in operation business methods that are just as practicable as those in use by commercial institutions."

Following out this idea, Fowler S. Smith, purchasing agent of Dayton, Ohio, reported a saving of \$33,000 in his department, at a cost of little more than \$3,000. He stated that the purchasing agent would always have one trouble—that of taking care of the merchants of his own city. "However," he said, "I have always made it a point to favor Dayton merchants in every way I can as long as they are favoring the city. But take, for example, any one item. The merchants elling that item are comparatively few as related to the taxpayers of the city. There may be five or six people in the city

in a position to make a price on the item. If you give them a higher price you are favoring them and punishing the balance of the taxpayers of the city." This paper was rich in suggestions for economies in city business.

On Tuesday morning Karl Mitchell, city manager of Sherman, Texas, read a paper on municipal cost data. "The prime duty of an executive is to organize and plan. Details should be left to subordinates. A maxim for the successful administrator is 'organize, deputize, and supervise.' Ample and accurate information is the first step towards success and the better the executive the more anxious he is for such information as will aid him in the formulation of judgments and serve as a guide in the future."

In the discussion of this paper, Kenyon Riddle, formerly city manager of Abilene, Kansas, said: "If we could stamp out the ancient antipathy against taxes and substitute the newer and more intelligent theory of not necessarily low taxes but any tax that is essential in order to maintain a clean, safe government, then reports would be received and considered for their proper and intended purpose. People would demand efficiency, not low taxes."

The citizen and the new government was the title of an optimistic message from President Ashburner. "Sincerity is the only influence in public affairs that makes lasting friends and effectually disarms foes. In my opinion the government of the city is dependent upon each structural

unit of that government from the president of the city commission down to the most humble employe. The man who sweeps the street crossing will deserve as much credit for his interest and faithfulness as the man who has drafted a city ordinance in a flawless manner."

The Tuesday round table discussion at two o'clock furnished the most interesting and enlightening session of the entire meeting. No meeting was so convincing of the sacrifice of time and self and energy that is going into the new government. No meeting could have better denoted the real accomplishments of the commissionmanager form of government.

Wednesday morning G. C. Cummin of Jackson, Michigan, began the work of the day with a study of budget making. His paper was helpful in specific details even to classifications and subjects. After a heated discussion of budget making Winton L. Miller, city manager of St. Augustine, Florida, took up the publicity work necessary under the new plan. He said in part: "I hope I have brought out somewhat forcibly the point that publicity must be from some source other than the government or administration proper. That is, the source of information regarding the government and its activities must come from and be borne by those outside the administration. First, it should be given editorially or reportorially by the press; Second, it should be through the organization of citizens maintained for the purpose of securing good government at all times; Third, it should be from the personnel of the advisory boards and those citizens in more direct contact with some department of the city administration. Statements from any of these sources are more acceptable to the public than statements coming direct from the officials."

Henry M. Waite, of Dayton, Ohio, presented a paper on powers and duties of the city manager. His paper was in the form of aphorisms: Men of large affairs demand broad authority. Broad lines of authority develop and attract capable executives. Broad authority carries responsibility. Responsibility attracts executives and imposes on them caution.

Executives with broad authority using caution accomplish results. Confusion in authority leads to confusion in results. Communities that cannot give broad authority to the executives are not ready for the ideal and should accept a more modified, centralized authority, and not call it a city manager form. To get the maximum power and efficiency from the city manager he must be given the maximum authority.

Steps were taken to keep the managers of the various cities working under the plan in constant touch with the work of each individual manager.

The president for 1916 is Henry M. Waite of Dayton; vice-president, J. G. Barnwell, Rockhill, South Carolina; secretary and treasurer, O. E. Carr, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

OSSIAN E. CARR, Secretary.

A University that is Serving its City.-A peculiar obligation rests upon the University of Cincinnati. Because it is owned and conducted by the city and supported out of the people's taxes the citizens look to it for more than the traditional services. The officers and faculty recognize their responsibility and with one service and another are reaching out beyond the confines of the campus striving to become increasingly a part of the life of the community. The university is possessed of a group of experts whose primary function is to teach matriculated students specialized subjects; but this is not all of their function. They place themselves at the command of the city government or any group of citizens who call upon them as well. There are a number of splendid illustrations of how this extra-academic service is developing in various fields. A conspicuous one is the municipal reference bureau located in the city hall so as to be of greatest use to city officers, but controlled and operated by the university. S. Gale Lowrie, professor of political science at the university, is active librarian of the bureau. Under his leadership the bureau has grown in size and usefulness until it is the best equipped institution of its kind in the United States

and one of the most effective. Its services have followed three distinct channels. First the excellent assortment of literature upon all phases of government is being used more and more by succeeding city administrations in their efforts to gain fresh light upon technical governmental problems. Perhaps the most important factor in this usefulness is the willingness of the librarian to place his own services at the disposal of those who want ordinances drafted or masses of technical material analyzed.

The second function the bureau performs is that of laboratory to the department of political science of the university. In these days of growing emphasis upon a better balance between theory and practice in the teaching world, a city owned university when it feels its obligation to train students with a civic point of view and to make them civic units of real usefulness, would have to have something like the bureau for teaching purposes. Under the existing arrangement the bureau is able to serve this purpose and be useful to the city at the same time. Having his headquarters in the city hall, Professor Lowrie not only uses the bureau for teaching but places his students in other departments of the city government as well, and supervises their work.

These two services, valuable as they are, do not satisfy the university in its eagerness to meet the demands of the community that it return a maximum degree of benefit to the citizens. Consequently a third usefulness has been developed for the bureau in aiding the citizens directly. Clubs, welfare associations and individuals who are seeking intelligent knowledge of city problems, are learning to call upon the bureau for help.

There are other ways by which the university is reaching out and helping the community. This same department of political science is giving courses in elementary government to the membership of the Woman's city club. The courses have been so successful that an immediate extension is planned. The college of medicine has developed in its children's clinic under the leadership of Dr. K. F.

Rachford, a member of the faculty, one of the most effective engines for the reduction of infant mortality any community possesses.

The engineering college in co-operation with the purchasing department of the city has a bureau of city tests which protects the city against low grade purchases and frauds and actually increases the value of the city dollar.

These are samples of how a municipally owned university is becoming more and more sensitive to the peculiar obligation it holds to an entire city.

W. J. Norton.

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City Planning Law at the University of Michigan.—Courses in city planning have been given at the University of Michigan for some years, but lectures on city planing law are announced now for the first time. These lectures will be delivered in March by Frank Backus Williams of the New York bar who has been appointed non-resident lecturer in the department of landscape design.

It is a recognized fact that failure to bring about concrete results in public enterprises is often due to a lack of knowledge of existing legal limitations. The purpose of the university in offering this course of lectures is to emphasize the importance of the legal side of city planing and to give the students general instruction in this phase of the work.

The course as outlined consists of four lectures. The first, under the title of general principles, takes up state control, public ownership of land, acquisition of ownership by the city, and eminent domain, public control of private use, and police power. Emphasis is laid upon the distinction between eminent domain and police power especially as illustrated by the law with relation to aesthetics in city planning.

The second and third lectures deal with the planning of public and private features. The plan of the city as a whole and the methods of making such planning effective, methods of acquiring land for public use, and excess condemnation are first dealt with, followed by specific legal problems relating to streets, water fronts, public utilities. In considering the question of financing, the public features, taxation, assessments, and increment taxation are discussed. In the third lecture, building regulation in its relation to private development, the history of such regulation, the intricate subject of districting and suggestions for regulation essential to the preservation and increase of land values are taken up successively.

The fourth lecture is on administration. The distinction between the jurisdiction of the national government, state governments, etc., is emphasized, and the powers and composition of local planning commissions and art commissions, and the territorial limits of planning governments are among the topics discussed with a view to making clear the practical importance of knowledge of city planning law.

AUBREY TEALDI.2

A Housing Competition and Public Exhibition to Create an American Standard of Living Among Immigrant Workmen in Industrial Towns .- The National Americanization committee, through a special committee of architects, engineers, housing experts and employers, is conducting a housing competition, to close June 1. Prizes amounting to \$2,100 are offered. They are divided into two groups. The first covers housing plans for a single family house, for a combined family and lodging house, and for a boarding house or community dwelling. The first prize for this class is \$1,000, the second \$500, the third, fourth and fifth \$100 each. In the second group a first prize of \$200, and a second of \$100 are offered for a satisfactory substitute for the derailed freight cars now used to house construction gangs on rail-

In the first group the housing plans are intended for industrial towns not exceeding 35,000 in population, and for workmen earning from \$15 to \$20 a week. The

¹ Lantern slides, illustrating foreign and American legal methods and their results, including such of the data and conclusions of the heights of buildings commission and commission on building districts and restrictions of New York City, and others, as are of general interest, will be used.—Editor.

² University of Michigan.

committee has in mind especially the new industrial communities constantly being produced in this country by new industries, and especially the "mushroom" towns of the last few years. Most industrial communities in which immigrants are a considerable percentage of the population are now characterized by separate quarters for foreign workmen with all kinds of makeshift dwellings and distinctly un-American standards of living.

The aim of the contest is to produce entirely practicable housing plans and standards, and by public exhibitions and in other ways to bring these plans to the attention of employers and others able to make use of them.

All inquiries should be addressed to the committee, 20 West 34th Street, New York City.

Testimonial Banquet to Mayor Baker.— Some months ago the Cleveland city club decided that something constructive should be done to remedy the lack of gratitude and appreciation for faithfulness and

honesty in public office. Last spring a luncheon was tendered to Hon. Theodore E. Burton in appreciation for his long service in public life. The congratulatory speeches were made by men who were political foes of Mr. Burton, but who realized his honesty, sincerity of purpose, and ability.

On January 15, another such affair was given; and the multitude who were present say that its like has rarely been seen in any American city. The occasion was a banquet given by the club to ex-mayor Newton D. Baker in recognition of his long career in the service of the city. The great banquet room of the Hollenden Hotel was early filled to overflowing, and more than 150 persons had to be cared for in adjacent rooms. After the simple meal, the tables were removed and the entire throng crowded into the assembly room to hear laudatory speeches by the most prominent men of the city-none of them, however, identified with the political party of Mr. Baker. After these men had spoken briefly—the president of the Cleveland trust company, the head of the political science department of Western Reserve University, the president of the chamber of commerce, one or two prominent lawyers, a popular rabbi—Mr. Baker responded in what many term the ablest utterance of his public career. In a materful way he reviewed the changes that have occurred in the last fourteen years—the passing of dark-lantern political methods, the awakening of a civic conscience, the increasing part of the people in their government.¹

The interest that has been aroused and the inspiration that has been obtained through these occasions has caused the club to make them a permanent part of the club's policy. There will be a systematic attempt made to show that a democracy has some sense of appreciation for a public job well done, and that partisan lines will not deter men from meeting to say "Well done, faithful servant" to one whose sincerity, honesty, and ability has been proved, whatever may be his political affiliations.

A Model Municipal Court Act.2—The draft of the model municipal court act has been completed by the special committee of which Chief Justice Olson of the municipal court of Chicago is chairman.3 The actual drafting has been done by the American Judicature Society, the membership of which embraces the League's committee. The model act is published in two volumes as bulletins IV A and IV B, A. J. S. The first volume is devoted to the selection and retirement of judges. It contains a keen analysis of existing methods and proposes constructive reforms of a most suggestive and valuable sort.

The act proper appears in the second volume. While in form it is adapted to the largest cities, which embody the most difficult problems, it is adaptable with slight modification to the needs of cities of 100,000 or more. The bulletins are on file in the public libraries of all cities of

¹ See page 226.

² See article by Herbert Harley on "The Model Municipal Court," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. 1II, p. 57.

⁸ Judge Olson is also chairman of the National Municipal League's committee on municipal courts. this size and larger, and copies may be had by application to the American Judicature Society, 1732 First National Bank building, Chicago. An article fully describing the act will appear in the July or October issue of the Review.

The drafting of this act represents a large share of the research and constructive work of the society over a period exceeding two years. The act was submitted to the advisory council of the society as a first draft two years ago. Criticisms from judges, representative lawyers and political scientists in many cities were secured and the present publications represent a revision embodying the most mature experience and thought on the subject.

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The Welfare Department of Dayton which has done remarkable work during the past year under the intelligent and public-spirited leadership of D. Frank Garland, who has been a leader in this work, is too poor to print reports. Economy is a good thing, but it can be carried too far. Certainly the people of Dayton, and elsewhere for that matter, are entitled to have a permanent record of the work done under this head.

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The Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service began in February the publication of a monthly bulletin dealing with the society's program, to wit: improvement of public administration, harnessing civil service reform to an educational program, surveys of educational institutions, more effective civic organizations, extension of the part time principle in education, removing local residence requirements for public service.

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The City Bulletin of Columbus, Ohio.— Under authority of the new charter of Columbus that city will hereafter issue an official weekly city bulletin containing a list of ordinances and other official documents as well as carrying the advertisements required to be made by law.

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Rowland Haynes, who was for five years field secretary of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, has been appointed secretary of recreation under the New York City board of estimate and apportionment. His new duties will involve the co-ordination of the work of the city departments affecting recreation, to make them all accomplish as much as possible in the way of meeting recreation needs in a city like New York, and to work out a plan of development for a period of years affecting not only the facilities for recreation, which could be handled by the city plan committee, but also activities and administration. Heretofore the board of estimate and apportionment has been considerably confused by a considerable number of claims by promoters of different types of public recreation who felt their plan was to solve all recreation needs of the city. The result has been that appropriations have not been made on any concerted plan, or made with a view to a consistent policy of development. In short, Mr. Haynes is expected to serve as the eyes of the board to see just what is being done and what are the needs which must be met.

George E. Hooker, civic secretary of the Chicago City Club, has been appointed chairman of the Illinois pension laws commission. His colleagues are Professor Henry L. Rietz, Urbana; John P. Dillon, Chicago; and Marcus Jacobowsky, Chicago. The duty of this commission is to "investigate the operation of all pension laws heretofore enacted in this state; to gather together all available information as to the present and probable future cost of maintaining the funds created by said laws, and to collect all available information in regard to the operation of similar laws in other states and counties." Fifteen thousand dollars has been appropriated to it for its work.

Rev. Charles N. Lathrop, who took so active a part in the graft prosecutions in

San Francisco during the Schmitz-Ruef régime, has been made dean of the Episcopal Cathedral in Milwaukee. Father Lathrop took the steps which led to the organization of the Citizens' league of justice, formed just after the attempted assassination in open court of Francis J. Heney. The league was organized in his study and during its activity he was its guiding spirit.

Dr. Edward W. Bemis, for five years the public utility expert representing the city of Chicago in the contest for lower gas, telephone and electric light rates and for better street car facilities, was dismissed by Mayor Thompson of Chicago. The mayor gave as his reason that Dr. Bemis was not an engineer and he was of the opinion that the position should be filled by one who had such experience, overlooking the splendid work which Dr. Bemis had done not only in Chicago, but elsewhere in behalf of the public interests. Evidently Dallas, Texas, does not feel quite the same way, because the city under the leadership of Mayor Lindsley, has engaged Dr. Bemis to solve so far as possible its local utility problems.

Ossian E. Carr, the first city manager of Cadillac, Michigan, was chosen city manager of Niagara Falls and entered on his duties January 1, 1916. Mr. Carr is also secretary of the City Managers' Association.

Hon. Oscar S. Straus has been appointed chairman of the New York Public Service Commission of the first district, succeeding Hon. E. E. McCall, who was removed by Governor Whitman.

 $^{\rm 1}\, {\rm See}$ National Municipal Review, vol. iv, p. 547.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

SMOKE ABATEMENT AND ELECTRIFICATION OF RAILWAY TERMINALS IN CHICAGO. Report of the Chicago Association of Commerce Committee of Investigation. Published by the Committee, Chicago, 1915. 9" x 12", quarto, 1117 pages.

The reviewer would be disposed to express both admiration and wonder in the presence of any person who might claim to have read all of this literally gigantic book.

The inquiry which gave reason for this monumental work was undertaken in March, 1911, in consequence of a long agitation toward smoke abatement, begun in 1874 by a citizens' association, and eventually taken up by the Chicago association of commerce. It is significant, in view of the findings of this report, that the solution of the smoke problem was deemed to be dependent upon the electrification of the many railroad terminals of Chicago.

In his letter of transmittal, Jesse Holdom, the committee's chairman, says:
"Having had at its command ample resources and the advice and assistance of such expert counsel as it chose to employ, the committee feels justified in hoping that its report will be of some value in the solution of a difficult civic problem not only in Chicago but elsewhere." He details the co-operation of the railroads, and insists that "the importance of the subject matter... required it to proceed cautiously and to form conclusions only after thorough investigation and careful consideration."

That the report is thorough is made apparent by a mere glance at the table of contents. The introduction is an historic brief of Chicago on the manufacturing side. Then follows a discussion on the

literature of smoke abatement, on methods of regulation, on various means of abating smoke; on the effects of smoke on health, on vegetation, and on property. Merely to summarize the headings in the contents would require not less than two pages of the National Municipal Review, for here is a veritable cyclopedia of smoke abatement and terminal electrification, including charts, diagrams, illustrations, and bibliography.

It is, incidentally, most interesting to note that complaint against smoke damage began in 1661, and is evidenced in a volume then addressed to Charles II, entitled "Fumifugium; or the inconvenience of the aer and smoak of London dissipated; together with some remedies humbly proposed." The remedies then, as now, were easily proposed, but seemingly nomore easily applied!

The conclusions at the end of each subsection of the Chicago report are likely to be considered as of great importance, resting, as they do, on by far the most complete and exhaustive study yet made of this or any other subject related tocommunity troubles. Save where those conclusions are general, and not specific for Chicago, this brief review cannot undertake to summarize any of them. Certain definite statements are, however, transcribed, mainly as indicating the breadth of this great smoke survey.

"The fact appears firmly established that there is a well defined relation between smoke and fog, and that the presence of smoke induces fog.

- "Increased quantities of smoke diminish the hours of sunshine.
- "Among the sources of pollution of city air by smoke, the world over, domestic chimneys are very conspicuous.
- "A common defect in smoke-abatement ordinances has appeared in the fact that

they have not been based upon a full understanding of the difficulties of the problem. Legal prohibition against smoke production does not in itself serve to secure satisfactory results. When Lacompanied by a campaign for intelligent furnace construction, by measures designed to educate owners, engineers and firemen, and by effective inspection, it has proved of high value."

Among the seven means suggested "to reduce the amount of smoke in the atmosphere of cities" are the "removal of fuel-consuming industries to points remote from the city; the construction of . . . community chimneys; . . . the establishment of central heating and power plants . . . the abolition of many small coal fires through the extension of the use of gas and electricity."

It is asserted "that fires of bituminous coal may be maintained without becoming sources of visible smoke," and detailed suggestions for this accomplishment are given.

An extended study of the effects of smoke upon health establishes that "There is a general agreement among sanitary authorities that polluted air is harmful to health," and while the ravages of tuberculosis are not directly increased by smoke, "in cases of pneumonia the effect becomes seriously detrimental. Also, the general physical tone is lowered at the result of long-continued breathing of polluted air."

It is concluded "that smoke may exert injurious effects on vegetation, . . . trees and plants . . . gradually losing vigor . . . until they finally perish."

The conclusions "concerning smoke as a source of loss and damage to property" are so involved and indeterminate that it is impracticable to attempt to state them briefly.

The really surprising part of this great showing is in relation to the part the vast railroad traffic of Chicago bears to its general air-pollution problem. The study is in elaborate detail, and its conclusion is that "Steam locomotives consume 11.94 per cent of the total fuel consumed . . . (and) are responsible for 22.06 per cent of the total visible smoke discharged within the city limits of Chicago."

The summary, made graphic in a series of colored diagrams, shows that for the whole area studied, including a second zone surrounding the central coal-consuming district, and altogether consuming 21,208,886 tons of coal and coke during the year 1912, the visible smoke production was thus proportioned:

I	er cent
Steam locomotives	21.83
Steam vessels	0.61
High-pressure stationary steam	
plants	44.79
Low-pressure stationary plants	2.87
Gas and coke plants	0.10
Furnaces for manufacturing proc-	
esses	29.80
	100.00

It is thus noted that the greatest railway terminal facilities in the world are responsible for less than one-fourth the smoke, and that the stationary plants, widely distributed over the area affected, produce nearly half of it.

More than seven hundred pages of this great volume include the study of railroad electrification, which it evidently was expected would be found practically to eliminate or at least materially to reduce the smoke nuisance. The paragraph above shows that this could not occur. The further conclusions are that "There is available at this time no form of locomotive carrying its own power . . . which could be substituted for the steam locomotive, and there is no prospect of the immediate development of any such locomotive." The only alternative is "the complete electrification of these terminals."

The cost of complete electrification has been worked out for two systems in detail, and the final conclusion reads: "The total capital requirements, which will be imposed by complete electrification of the Chicago railroad terminals, will therefore amount to \$274,440,630."

The study as to the immediate practicability and wisdom of the expenditure of such a vast sum for electrification (less than one-fourth the annual cost of "booze"

in America, by the way), seems to end in a negative result.

Very important are the final recommendations resulting from this four-year study. These include the creation by the city of "a permanent pure air commission," to include persons of high technical qualifications, with adequate financial support, and empowered not only to investigate air pollution, but to "enforce obedience to its decisions." This commission is to control paving, cleaning, building, wrecking, boiler and other furnace installation, to the end of preventing, so far as possible, air pollution. It is also to revise the kitchen stove, or its fuels, so as to remove the large source of air pollution thus existing, and to proceed with the further study of the locomotive and stationary steam plants, with a view toward smoke elimination.

Truly "a large order!" Will Chicago fill it? She has done wonderful things; she can do this; and thus again give a message of progress to America almost as important as that she delivered in the White City of 1893 which turned us toward city planning.

This great book is in all a great service to America. It should be in every consulting library in the country. Copies may be obtained at the cost, \$6 each, of Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago.

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} $J.$ Horace McFarland. \\ $Harrisburg, Pa. \end{tabular}$

Town Planning in Ancient Times. By F. J. Haverfield. New York and London: Oxford University Press. \$2.

Professor Haverfield's book is a notable contribution to the science of town planning. The author regards town planning as one of the newer ideals in politics which contrast with the more conventional problems of politicians, and he endeavours to show that the Hellenistic and Roman ages had some resemblance to the present day "in their care for the well-being of the individual."

Professor Haverfield associates the principle of town planning among the Greeks and the Romans with the use of the straight line and the right angle. Wherever he detects the existence of rectangular house-blocks (insulæ) with two main streets crossing at right angles near the centre he assumes that there has been a definite plan for laying out the town. Wherever straight lines and right angles are departed from he seems to take it that deliberate design has been absent. It follows that he regards the periods in which towns have been laid out on geometrical patterns as the more civilized.

His arguments may be sound with regard to the ancient times of which he writes, but there is no doubt that in the middle ages many of the finest examples of beautiful towns are those which were allowed to grow up in an irregular form without any deliberate attempt to make the streets straight and at right angles. When the rectangular design of the city is the result of a military dictatorship as seems to have been the case in many ancient cities, it does not necessarily reflect a high level of intelligence on the part of citizens as a whole, and where the elements that go to make up the design of an irregular town are analysed it may be found that they represent the product of a higher civilization than the rectangular plan carried out under such military domination.

A beautiful city may be laid out on straight lines with right-angled blocks, but it is not formal treatment of the lines and angles themselves that would make it beautiful, and one cannot help from thinking that many of the ancient examples of city development were beautiful in spite of and not because of their checker-board pattern. In modern times one could conceive of a more beautiful New York or Philadelphia, even if there had been less rigid adherence to straight lines, if there had been more regard paid to the physical features of the sites they occupy, to the treatment of the buildings, to the sky line and to the natural surroundings. Professor Haverfield does much to prove his point, but I feel he is not quite convincing in trying to prove that the principle of the straight

line and the right angle are the "marks which sunder even the simplest civilization from barbarism."

In reading this book it is almost saddening to be reminded of the fact that some of our most progressive modern nations still suffer from the low ideals of the earlier Greeks. Before the fifth century the Greeks are said to have been "stately enough in their public buildings and principal thoroughfares, but they revealed a half-barbaric spirit in their mean streets and unlovely dwellings." After the fifth century their ideals became more democratic, and they sought to improve the dwellings of the people as well as to give dignity to their public places and public buildings. What is called "city planning" in more than one country, to-day, is no more than ostentation in public streets and public buildings, with painful neglect of the homes of the people. Modern Europe and America still stand in need of some of the philosophy of the Macedonian era, which recognized the claims of the individual citizen in town planning schemes and paid consideration to the homes of common men.

As is well known the vice of overbuilding was common in the ancient Greek and Roman world, but the cities had an advantage which is not possessed by every modern city, in that they had a good municipal supply of water and sewers laid in the streets. Although Athens gets the credit of being the birthplace of town planning in Greece, that appears more to have been because Hippodamus worked in it, rather than because Athens itself was well laid out. As the author shows, Athens was a sort of oriental mixture of public buildings, mean streets and badly grouped houses. For evidences of conscious town planning, we have to look to Piræus, Thurii and Rhodes, the planning of which is ascribed by ancient writers to Hippodamus. Professor Haverfield traces the origin of Greek town planning to the East. In Babylonia and Assyria he finds traces of conscious planning leading up to the Greek beginnings in the fifth century, B.C.

Interesting facts to modern town planners are brought out in the reference to-Pergamum in the chapter on the Macedonian age (330 to 130 B.C.). In the by-laws of that period provision is made for dealing with ruinous buildings, for compelling owners to repair them, and for cleaning streets. "Brickfields were expressly forbidden within the city. The widths of the roads outside the town were fixed, and owners of adjacent land were held liable for their repair. . . There were provisions, too, for the repair of common walls which divided the houses of two owners."

Among other ancient Italian towns-described are Pompeii, Modena, Turin, Florence, Herculaneum, Lucca, and Naples. Two chapters deal with Roman provincial towns, and there is an interesting appendix on town planning in China. The book is well illustrated with plans and the text is plain and devoid of technicalities. It should be in the hands of everyone who desires to become acquainted with the history of town planning.

The origins of Italian town planning go even further back than the town planning of the Greeks, the earliest discoverable traces of the Italian system being the Terremare of the Bronze Age (1400 to 1800 B.C.). These settlements were trapezoidal rather than rectangular in planning, a feature which is also very pronounced in the plan of Pompeii.

In the chapter on "the sequel," Professor Haverfield says that town planning in the Roman world not only increased the comfort of common man but made towns stronger and more coherent units. It should be one of the principal aims of every town-planning scheme to attain these results. "The great benefit to modern workers of such a survey as I have attempted," says the author, "is that it shows the slow and painful steps by which mankind became able to plan towns as units, yet inhabited by individual men and women, and that it emphasizes the need for definite rules and principles."

THOMAS ADAMS.

Ottawa, Canada.

CITIES IN EVOLUTION. By Patrick Geddes. London: Williams & Norgate, 7s. 6d.

This book is frankly of an introductory character, its chief aim being to popularize the study of civics in the widest sense of that term. Hence it is neither a history of city growth nor an exposition of present-day municipal problems; it is rather an attempt to set forth just what the city's aims ought to be and how those interests which seem to be divergent may be reconciled by harmonious co-operation:

The author is not a slave to orthodox ideas, nor a stickler in the matter of orderly presentation. Thoughts and suggestions flow from his pen like sparks from an anvil, alighting where they will. No one will ever call his book stilted or academic, for it bears on every page the impress of the author's own forceful individuality. On the other hand, the general nebulosity of the discussions, the continual threshing about in a haze of abstractions, and the author's weird geological analogies, are apt to nettle the man whom nature has endowed with only an ordinary imagination. Mr. Geddes, moreover, takes Western Europe as the bounds of his horizon. With the needs, problems and methods of American cities he is not concerned, nor would most American readers understand the local and personal allusions in which his pages abound.

There is one chapter, however, which should have the attention of our own students, namely, that which deals with town planning and civic exhibitions. This is a topic upon which Mr. Geddes is qualified to speak with undeniable authority, and it is here that one may conveniently find many things that otherwise would have to be sought in out-of-the-way places. There is a good account of the way in which these exhibitions are organized and carried through, together with some sensible suggestions as to how they may best compel the interest of visitors.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO. Harvard University.

DISPOSAL OF THE SEWAGE AND PROTECTION OF THE WATER SUPPLY OF CHICAGO, ILL. A Report to the Chicago Real Estate Board by Geo. A. Soper, John D. Watson and Arthur J. Martin, Chicago: Real Estate Board.

Many millions of dollars have been spent by the sanitary district of Chicago to divert sewage from Lake Michigan and, by reversing the flow of the Chicago river, to turn the sewage southward through the Des Plaines and Illinois rivers to the Mississippi river, diluted by such a volume of lake water as will prevent a nuisance. The result has been sewage disposal by fresh water dilution on the largest scale ever yet attempted. Owing to unforeseen complications the intended degree of dilution has never been attained. For some years past the further or additional diversion of water from the lake has been contested by the federal government in lawsuits not yet brought to a conclusion.

International questions as to diversion and to lake pollution have also arisen. Shipping interests have protested against the diversion, alleging injury to their business through lowering the lake levels—a question involved in the federal suit and which has given rise to much controversy and conflicting engineering testimony.

To throw light on the situation both the International joint commission and the trustees of the sanitary district, acting separately, have had engineering estimates made to determine the cost of sewage-treatment works to lessen the burden on the drainage canal and the waterways into which it discharges. Failure of the sanitary district to reach a decision in the premises has been due in part to the uncertainties of the litigation mentioned, to the magnitude of the problem, to the desire to carry on sewagetreatment experiments which would throw light on the problem, and last but not least, it appears, to politics, not always of the very best sort.

With a desire to show the need for prompt and comprehensive action and to indicate at least broadly what that action ought to be, the harbor and river improvement committee of the Chicago real estate board took up the subject two years or more ago. Expert investigation was advised. A member of the committee provided the necessary money to carry out such an investigation and the three engineers named at the head of this notice were engaged. Of these men, Mr. Soper was from New York, Mr. Martin from London and Mr. Watson from Birmingham, England. Each and all have a high reputation among sanitary engineers.

The resulting report consists of a compact, but comprehensive and at the same time readable, review of the history and present status of sewage disposal and water-supply (as regards pollution) at Chicago, together with a discussion of the need, as the engineers strongly believe, for providing both sewage- and water-treatment works, and some general suggestions as to their character. No cost estimates are given.

The report is unquestionably a masterly one and the recommendations merit most careful local consideration. It is doubtful. however, whether the report will have any material influence, at least for the present. The broad main conclusions were well known before this study was begun. Nothing seems likely to be done until a decision is reached in the litigation which has been under way so long. Moreover, the report, with no reflection on anyone, has comparatively little weight, because it emanates from what may be termed an irresponsible body. the engineers nor the harbor and river improvement commission nor the real estate board have any official responsibility for sewage disposal or water-supply at Chicago, and particularly have they no responsibility for the vast financial outlay which the scheme recommended would entail. The report contains not even a guess as to what it would cost to carry out the schemes advised and not a word of consideration of the relative importance of these schemes and the other health and welfare needs of Chicago.

There are some indisputable advantages in irresponsible reports like this one,

in which a single problem is considered detached from all the other problems of a city, quite regardless of how big the bill for the recommended scheme would be and how meeting the bill would cut into or sidetrack other important city improvements. Such reports may yield bold ideal plans that could not be secured in any other way and that may subsequently be trimmed so as to bring them into proportion with other demands upon a narrow debt or taxation margin. Such reports may sometimes arouse dormant public interest. They may command attention because of their very irresponsibility or disinterestedness. Certainly engineers in New York, London and Birmingham are not likely to be accused of bringing axes to be sharpened on Chicago grindstones.

M. N. Baker.

Montclair, N. J.



AMERICAN SEWERAGE PRACTICE—Volume III., Disposal of Sewage. By Leonard Metcalf and Harrison P. Eddy. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

A distinctive feature of this comprehensive and authoritative work on sewage disposal is its aim "to be helpful not only to engineers, but also to sewer commissioners, lawyers and undergraduate students. A wider circle of readers might appropriately have been claimed.

The first 250 pages are devoted to the history of sewage treatment, the composition of sewage and how it may be altered, and the general character of the various methods of sewage disposal. This leaves 550 pages for detailed descriptions of structures and methods.

Those who have imbibed the notion that some contraption mystically labelled "septic tank" or the "septic process" sums up the whole of sewage treatment, will be surprised to find, first of all, a chapter of fifty pages on dilution (no apparatus), then separate chapters on grit chambers, screens, sedimentation, tanks for sludge digestion (three kinds of septic tanks to choose from) chemical precipitation, contact beds, sprinkling filters, intermittent

sand filters, irrigation, losing apparatus, and disinfection. The sewage-disposal engineer must take his choice of one or of a combination of from two to a half dozen of these devices to meet his complicated and ever-varying problems.

The book contains a wealth of data gleaned from American and foreign literature, from the extensive engineering practice of the authors, and from American, British, French and German correspondents. It is well illustrated. It has that crowning glory, a serviceable index. With the previous volumes—"Design" and "Construction" (see National Municipal Review, October, 1915)—this one on "Disposal" makes up a worthy and unsurpassed treatise on American sewerage practice.

M. N. BAKER.1

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SWAMP LAND DRAINAGE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MINNESOTA. By Ben Palmer, M.A., LL.B., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. 138 pp.

This is not a treatise on technical methods of draining, but a brief for the drainage idea and an account of the area of land reclaimed with lengthy and learned discussion of the legal aspects of the question in the several states, and of the means by which results are accomplished by public and private co-operation. It has innumerable data and references to authorities.

The case for drainage in its broad lines can hardly be better presented than by quoting from the first two paragraphs of the book:

"It has been estimated that there are in the United States to-day approximately 80,000,000 acres of swamp and overflowed lands, an area of unproductive land greater than the Philippine Islands and nearly three times as large as Great Britain and Ireland." When we consider that these wet lands are so vast in extent, that they are unproductive and an economic waste, and that they are in many states so productive of malarial diseases as to constitute a serious and ever present menace to the

¹Vice-president, New Jersey state department of health, Montclair, N. J.

lives and health of the people, the importance of the problem of land drainage in the United States is apparent. If-using the suggestion of Chief Hydrographer Leighton of the U.S. geological surveythis land were suddenly acquired as an outlying possession, there is no doubt that there would be a great movement for its exploitation. . . If there lay off our coast such a wonderously fertile country inhabited by a pestilent and marauding people who every year invaded our shores and killed and carried away thousands of of our citizens, and each time shook their fists beneath our noses and cheerfully promised to come again, how the country would go to arms, the treasury be thrown open, and how quickly that people would be subjugated!" And yet that is just the situation which our swamp lands, with their great possibilities for development as additional territory for our people and with their cost to the United States in lives annually lost by malarial fevers, present to us.

The benefits to be derived from land drainage are many. The removal of surplus waters results in (1) a greater certainty of a full crop on agricultural lands because of a reduction of the damaging effect of frost on vegetation; (2) an increase in the yield per acre, with a corresponding permanent increase in the market value of the land; (3) improvement of public highways; (4) benefits to transportation companies because of the increase in freight tonnage due to the raising of more agricultural products; (5) benefits to towns near drained districts because of increased business: (6) benefits to railroad companies due to decrease in cost of maintaining trackage, as result of lessening of damages caused by floods and by softening of roadbeds; (7) improvement in public health due to the elimination of fever and disease breeding swamps and marshes.

The drainage question in this country is but another instance of our neglect and waste of natural resources. Swamp reclamation is usually completely under the control of private individuals, and the work shows the inevitable lack of forethought and organization for the common

good and blind waste on the part of legislatures. Thus of 2,700,000 acres of swamp land in Georgia almost none has been reclaimed; in Mississippi very little of 5,760,200 acres has been reclaimed. The great St. Francis swamp in Arkansas was once covered with a fine growth of hardwood. It was sold by the state to lumber companies for 50 cents an acre which took out the lumber. Similarly in Missouri, swamp lands sold by the state for a few cents an acre are now, after reclamation, worth from \$60 to \$100 an acre.

When swamps near centres of population are such an obvious nuisance that they must be reclaimed, the result is usually brought about by dumping refuse until the surface is high and dry and solid. By this simple process the thick black muck, the deposit of ages, which under proper treatment becomes most valuable agricultural land, is forever buried out of sight and reach, and can only be restored to fertility by stripping some other piece of land of its clothing of productive soil. This kind of thing is going on in all directions in the 75 square miles or so of tidewater swamp in New York City and within 15 miles of city hall.

The whole book is a convincing argument for the direct or indirect public control of drainage of extensive swamps. The author presents a strong case for control by the federal government as the only power able to handle the conflicting private interests where swamp areas extend over the borders of adjoining states; thus, the policy of the federal government of granting to new states all the swamp lands within their borders is mistaken, and should be changed.

HAROLD A. CAPARN.

New York.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MUNICIPAL GOVERN-MENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By William Bennett Munro. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

At the opening of a great Scottish library Lord Rosebery disconcerted his audience by remarking that the occasion depressed him. Such miles of shelves, such multitudes of books! Somewhat in the same way the student of municipal government is disturbed by the appalling mass of literature which confronts him. Hitherto his way has been uncharted; he has done his exploration more or less haphazard. For it is now a decade and a half since the bibliography of Professor Brooks appeared. In that interval has come the awakening of American opinion to the deficiencies of city government and to the indefinite possibilities of constructive advance; our cities have been, in a measure, transformed; and this growth of public interest, this gradual, but extensive achievement has found expression in numberless publications. To offer guidance through such a labyrinth required a very specialized acquaintance with the subject and at the same time courage to face hard work and inevitable criticism. As one of the chief authorities in the field, Professor Munro was admirably equipped for the task; he had also the co-operation of the Harvard bureau of research in municipal government which he himself had developed. The volume may fairly be regarded as indispensable.

Its scope has been conceived broadly. Of course, as the title indicates, attention is fixed upon American municipalities. But where European experience and practice seem to bear more or less directly upon American problems, references are given. Thus, under the subject of finance 5 per cent of the references are to European literature; under the subject of municipal ownership, more than 40 per cent. Professor Munro has not, in the old fashion, emphasized the political side. He has very properly taken the view that interest nowadays has shifted largely from political machinery and municipal organization to the community service which government should perform. For the former, therefore, two chapters, or eighty-odd pages, suffice. The great bulk of the volume considers functions: finance, city planning, public utilities, sanitation, public safety, education, social betterment. "The city is becoming our premier philanthropist," as Professor Munro phrases it.

With so broad an outlook it would obviously be impossible for a volume of manageable size to notice all the available literature. Some rule of discrimination had to be followed. A casual reading will demonstrate that recent publications have been preferred; three-quarters of the titles date after 1905; and in view of the rapid change of conditions and ideas such a basis of preference is distinctly commendable. In considering relative value, where the limitations of space necessitated still further discrimination, the editor has held in view the elements of accessibility and authority. But, whatever has been excluded from the volume, something like five thousand titles do actually appear, many of them accompanied by critical notes which attempt to indicate their character and value. The mechanical arrangements are generally excellent; for one thing the index has been carefully made. But the absence of page or marginal headings makes it difficult for the reader to find his way among the various chapters, sections, and sub-sections.

In so large an undertaking the dangers of error are manifold. The greatest diligence could hardly avoid falling into occasional lapses; and where thoroughness and accuracy predominate it would be invidious to point out minor mistakes or omissions. Professor Munro, having spent nearly three years in preparing the work, afterwards took the precaution of submitting the various sections to expert revision. The most exacting reader will have to search far to discover any reasonable ground of complaint.

E. M. SAIT.

Columbia University.

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PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF COST Accounting. By Frederick H. Baugh.
Published by the Author, Box 682.
Baltimore, Md. \$3.

Mr. Baugh's work on the principles and practice of cost accounting forms a book of nearly 200 pages showing evidences of careful workmanship as to its mechanical features. It has a detailed table of contents and an index. Paragraphs are num-

bered and captioned. There are numerous illustrations of forms.

The work is divided into nine chapters in addition to the introduction. The first chapter treats of the general subject of financial accounting, and the second of the principles of cost accounting. In the second chapter the author divides all cost accounting into four general classes or types which he calls, respectively, specific job cost, departmental cost, process cost—simple type, and process cost—complex type. These four systems are taken up separately and become the subjects of the following five chapters. Following this are two chapters illustrating departmental and process cost.

In all these respects the book is orderly and well planned. As an exposition of the principles and practice of cost accounts. however, it is far from satisfactory. In the introductory parts and wherever the author attempts generalization, it abounds in platitudes and inconsequential statements that are not edifying. In such portions the author seems to be taxing his resources both of ideas and of language. In the detailed treatment of his subject the author's method of presentation is poor. He fails to lay out his plan or system so that the student may know what he is working toward, the purpose of the journal entries, and the relationships of the accounts and forms to which reference is made. Instead of this he relies entirely upon topical remarks and detailed directions as to records. His assertions are dogmatic in the extreme being given entirely without argument or qualification. They deal exclusively with particulars, and their arrangement is such as not to permit consecutive thinking or comprehensive understanding. There is also a great deal of useless repetition.

As to the subject matter of this book or rather as to the subject matter back of this book, i.e., the author's ideas of cost accounting, it is practically impossible to judge because of the difficulty in reconstructing the author's concept from the material he has given. Possibly, if one were to analyze the book, taking it up sentence by sentence, and making an

entire redistribution, one might get at the fundamental structure of Mr. Baugh's accounting system. We are inclined to believe, however, that some of the essential parts of this structure are missing.

Mr. Baugh presents no thesis of any sort. He does not discuss doctrines or principles nor give any assistance in overcoming the practical difficulties involved in the installation and maintenance of a cost system. He has given us merely a book of directions for the recording of cost data according to certain particular plans of his own. As to these directions they are so detailed and so badly arranged that the only conclusive way of judging them would be to try them out and note the results. To the reviewer Mr. Baugh's instructions seem to be incomplete and, in some instances, misleading or not in accord with prevailing practices.

E. M. FREELAND.

New York City.

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EXPERIENCES IN EFFICIENCY. By Benjamin A. Franklin, New York: The Engineering Magazine Company, 1915.

Most of the chapters in this volume appeared originally in The Engineering Magazine. For the purpose of this volume they have been revised, adapted and logically arranged. The first six chapters are concerned with quality of workmanship, and how the incentive for it is secured through various methods of wage payment. The next chapter discusses increase of production by simple reorganization. The following chapters consider reduction of factory expense and the building of a cost system. The last chapter discusses the necessity of efficiency will, the "belief that efficiency, beyond that already attained, is certainly possible, attainable, and vitally valuable."

This volume does not advocate any particular system of organization, and does not attempt to describe in detail methods of securing efficiency results. Its purpose seems to be to present an interesting account, illuminated by many specific examples, of what has and may be done to that end, for the purpose of stimulating

in the reader's mind the "efficiency will" he takes with him to the reading of these essays.

H. S. Person.

Amos Tuck School.

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Youth, School and Vocation. By Meyer Bloomfield. New York: Houghton-Mifflin Company.

It may confidently be stated that every person in the United States, parent, child, teacher, student, employer and employee could read this book with great profit. It treats an important and a very practical subject in a manner that leaves the reader in no doubt as to its importance and practicalness. The author assumes, apparently, the need for vocational guidance is not fully appreciated and states the case in a simple but impressive manner. He does not join in the usual denunciation of our industrial and educational system, but is content to point out conditions as they are, leaving the reader to judge of the necessity for reform. The problem is to help the child make a right selection of his life-work. The parents are usually uninformed; the schools are busy solving their own internal difficulties; employers take what labor they can get without special investigation,—and a tremendous social wastage is the result. It is surprising to learn that a comparatively small number of children leave school because of financial circumstances (and is it not a reflection on our public school system?). Fourteen is the age when they begin dropping out and they go into the first thing that offers itself. Shifting about from one occupation to another they finally sift down to the bottom of the heap and remain there, victims of a defective social system.

The great remedy for all this, we are told, lies in the vocational bureau which should form the connecting link between the parent and the school on the one side, and the school and the employers of labor on the other. Boston saw the beginning of the plan and has to-day a highly efficient bureau which is helping thousands.

of children to find employment suited to their particular needs. The school authorities co-operate with the vocational experts who collect data regarding the demand for labor. Throughout their school course the pupils are given opportunities to take up manual training and domestic art; stimulating lectures are given and in every way the child is encouraged to think seriously concerning his future. Upon leaving the grammar school each pupil carries with him to the high school (if he goes so far) a card containing personal information acquired by the teachers under whom he has sat. High school instructors supplement this by their own observations and the completed card is turned over to the bureau. The experts now attempt to establish the boy or girl who wishes employment in a suitable occupation. This done, it is the duty of the bureau to keep in touch both with its proteges and the employers and find out how well it has diagnosed the case. Statistics prove that the number of persons thus placed leaving their occupations is comparatively small. Society has benefitted by having now a satisfied employer and a contented workman. The social gain is great.

Mr. Bloomfield offers suggestions as to the manner in which vocational bureaus may be established. The field is an open and a fruitful one and if this chapter is not used as the basis for the organization of a number of bureaus it will be because the city and school authorities are loath to take up with the new, not because the author has failed to prove his case. Other countries, notably Germany and England, are far in advance of the United States in this matter and have now perfected their systems to such a degree that we must of necessity lag a long way behind.

"Youth, School and Vocation" is a decided addition to our stock of "worth-while" books. Although in a work of this nature it is the substance rather than the form which counts, Mr. Bloomfield has not failed to present his subject in excellent literary style. As a last word of praise, be it said that he has carefully avoided the mistake so often made, that of belabor-

ing a subject until the reader is more exhausted than the subject.

J. C. McGregor.
Washington and Jefferson College,
Washington, Pa.

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LEARNING TO EARN. By John A. Lapp and Carl H. Mote. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$1.50.

The subject of vocational education in the United States is fortunately beginning to receive a little of the great amount of attention to which by reason of its fundamental importance it is entitled. The present volume whose sub-title A plea and a plan for vocational education well describes its nature is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject. It is a strong indictment of our educational system as at present organized and shows how the evils resulting therefrom can be remedied by a rational scheme of vocational education on a broad basis. The individual chapters dealing with the educational needs of industry, agriculture, business, and home making are full of suggestive matter. One sees, of course, clearly reflected, the fundamentals of the German system of vocational education, throughout the entire work. It might be said that the book would gain in interest and appeal by condensation, for there is considerable repetition, but in spite of that it cannot fail to interest the student of social problems in the largest sense.

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OLD AGE POVERTY IN GREENWICH VIL-LAGE. By Mabel Louise Nassau. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.

This book is the outcome of an intensive study made by Miss Nassau during the winter of 1913–14 of one hundred aged persons living in New York City. Six classification groups were found necessary, varying according to the source of maintenance, namely those wholly self-supporting, those partly self-supporting and partly supporting and partly supporting the self-supporting and partly supporting and partly supporting and partly supporting and partly supporting supporting

ported by their families, those supported entirely by their families, those partly self-supporting and partly dependent upon charity, those supported partly by their families and partly by charity, and those wholly dependent upon charity.

In its attempt to individualize the economic status of the aged poor the book is filled with the pathos of economic fearfear of encroaching disease with no means at hand, fear of being cut off from the sources of maintenance, or fear of a final home in some institution. This latter fear being so strong that it is stated that "the overwhelming majority (of the women) dreaded the very idea of an institution and fought bitterly against it." To determine whether this fear was well-grounded Miss Nassau made a thorough investigation of several well-known institutions in New York, until she could "stand no longer the sight of such depressed, hopeless, sad, vacant, wretched faces," and concludes "institutions are not a satisfactory mode of provision for the aged, and could never be made so" (p. 94).

What is the solution of the problem? Miss Nassau considers it to be neither churches nor charitable agencies. "The churches seldom have funds enough to help very many," and charitable agencies, "with all their laudable efforts, are not able to cope with the situation of providing adequately for aged people outside of institutions." After citing pertinent quotations from various authorities as to different forms of social provision it is stated that "so far no one system of provision for old age seems entirely satisfactory. All pension systems and all insurance systems seem to fail in some respects," though "surely some provision for the aged ought to be made and will be made in time."

This is the way the problem is left, for the book, apart from a few suggestions, offers no solution. But it is well worth reading and is indicative of the method that must be followed for any final determination of the best means of meeting the needs of old age poverty.

EDWIN S. LANE.

Philadelphia.

Civics for New Americans. By Mabel Hill and Philip Davis. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 80 cents. The title of this book explains sufficiently the nature of the context. It is intended for use in classes where newcomers to our country are enrolled and endeavors to instill into their minds some appreciation of the truth that "America is another word for opportunity." But the point is made clear that, unless they familiarize themselves with our language, customs, and laws, their chances of success will be appreciably decreased. Immigrants are urged to enroll in day or evening schools and to send their children regularly to the public schools. The use of the gymnasium, public baths, and playgrounds is explained; various features of the city government are described and advice is given regarding the rules which should govern the conduct of all persons. Such matters as the pure food laws, workmen's compensation acts and factory inspection are treated of in simple and understandable language. The meaning of citizenship in the United States is made clear and the process of naturalization described. A brief account is given of our national government and of the various political parties. Prospective citizens are urged to keep before them always the fact that by being made citizens of the United States they have had a great boon conferred upon them, one that can only be repaid by true and unselfish devotion to

The appendix contains specific instructions as to the process of naturalization, questions on national and municipal government and suggestions as to the manner in which immigrants can meet for the purpose of study.

the best interests of the nation.

Miss Hill and Mr. Davis have put out a very helpful little book. Their advice to newcomers to these shores is suggestive and timely and they have not fallen into the error of giving so much information that the immigrant reader is likely to become confused and discouraged.

J. C. McGregor.

Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CON-FERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORREC-TIONS—Forty-second Annual Session, Baltimore, Md., May 1915. Chicago: Hildman Printing Company, 1915.

The present volume differs from previous volumes chiefly in the superior qualities of the papers and their broader scope. One might almost characterize it as a collection of handbooks on the family and the community, children, health, social hygiene, state care of the insane, feebleminded and epileptic, corrections, public and private charities, social legislation and education for social work.

In reading the volume, one is impressed by the seriousness which characterizes it. Because of the influence of the European war and our own financial stringency there has been an effort to curtail all but the essentials in social work and these have been re-examined as to their efficiency. The result is a constructive and critical study that makes for permanence. This is the best volume that has been issued.

J. P. LICHTENBERGER.
University of Pennsylvania

ole.

Democracy in the Making. Edited by George W. Coleman. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. \$1.50. 340 pp.

The Ford Hall meetings have become an established factor in Boston's civic life and George W. Coleman, their guiding genius, has done well to bring together in this volume a group of addresses and articles illustrative of their spirit and aim. To his mind "the crying need in this country is to get folks together." Ford Hall is designed to accomplish this thing and its success has led Mr. Coleman to want other communities to go and do likewise, for he is a born propagandist. He is not content to have the light to himself. He wants everyone else to share it with him. Part I sets forth the facts; part II gives the impressions of those who have spoken from the platform; part III, contributed by Miss Mary C. Crawford, happily describes some of the habitues of

the meetings, and part IV contains a series of representative addresses.

The book is an interesting and stimulating record of a suggestive movement.

C. R. W.

THE NEW CITIZENSHIP: A CIVIC RITUAL DEVISED FOR PLACES OF PUBLIC MEETING IN AMERICA. By Percy Mackaye. New York: Macmillan Company. 50 cents.

In this masque Mr. Mackaye makes his contribution to "an appropriate ritual of American citizenship." He has two distinct purposes, one to symbolize to eye and ear "the main historical significances of the living tradition of American liberty," and to introduce into this background the new significances and suggestions of present-day Americanization. It is a worthy companion to his civic masque, "St. Louis," which proved so suggestive in connection with the truly great St. Louis pageant.

The Liberty of Citizenship. By Samuel W. McCall. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$1.15: 134 pp.

The annual volumes containing the Dodge lectures on the "responsibilities of citizenship" are as a rule a substantial contribution to the discussion of an old but ever new and important question: the duties of a citizen in a democracy. Governor McCall has many qualifications for a successful treatment of this subject and he fulfils expectations. What he has to say relates principally to the encroachments of the law upon the liberty of the individual and the necessity of "maintaining the largest attainable measure of freedom," and is a philosophic defence of individualism as opposed to socialism.

ETHICS IN SERVICE. By William Howard Taft. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$1.

In this little volume of 101 pages, former President Taft discusses with an abundance of apt illustrations the move
1 See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, pp. 401, 647.

ment for better ethics in business, professional and governmental service. It is in the latter that he is particularly qualified to speak with authority, and he shows a sympathy with many modern efforts at improvement which affords an interesting contrast with his well known and frequently expressed opposition to certain modern political tendencies, especially those known as direct legislation.

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Undercurrents in American Politics.

By Arthur Twining Hadley, Ph.D.,

LL.D. New Haven: Yale University

Press. \$1.35.

This volume contains the Ford lectures delivered at Oxford by President Hadley on property and democracy and the Barbour-Page lectures at the University of Virginia on political methods. It might very properly be entitled "Extra Constitutional Government in the United States" and be given a place beside Tiede-

man's admirable contribution on "The Unwritten Constitution."

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OFFICIAL INDEX TO STATE LEGISLATION.

New York: Law Reporting Company.

1915.

The publishers of this index, which is a private venture, are fortunate in securing the co-operation of the National associaciation of state libraries and the American association of law libraries in making uniform the various classifications regarding legislation. The index contains a concise record of all bills introduced in the various legislatures of the states and the final action thereon. There is an index as to subjects and the general arrangement is convenient. It is valuable not only to those having private interests in legislation, but to the student of legislative matters from the public view-point.

The plan of the publication is on the weekly cumulative system.

A. DE R.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

THE AMERICAN CITY. By Henry C. Wright. Chicago; A. C. McClurg & Co. 50 cents.

AMERICAN MUNICIPAL PROGRESS. By Charles Zueblin. New and Revised Edition, New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

AMERICAN YEAR BOOK, 1915. Edited by Francis G. Wickware. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

Business Employments. By Frederick J. Allen. Boston: Ginn & Company. \$1.

Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service—A Co-operative Clearing House of Public Affairs Information. First Annual Cumulation. Compiled by Orrena Louise Evans and Mabel E. Egbert. White Plains, N. Y.: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1915.

City Planning. Edited by John Nolen, New York: D. Appleton & Company. National Municipal League Series. \$2. The Colorado Industrial Plan. By John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Including a copy of the plan of representation and agreement adopted at the coal and iron mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. 1916.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT. By Frank Farrington. New York: Ronald Press Company, 20 Vesey St. \$1.50.

COMPARATIVE FREE GOVERNMENT. By Jesse Macy and John W. Gannaway. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.25.

Cost of Living. By Fabian Franklin. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page & Company. \$1.

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE GREAT WAR. By Arthur Bullard. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

ENGLISH PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRA-TION. By B. G. Bannington. London: P. S. King & Son. 7/6 net. EXTRACTS FROM LIQUOR LAWS OF PRO-HIBITION STATES. Compiled under the direction of Lewis Machen, Director of the Legislative Reference Bureau of Virginia, Richmond, Va.

Final Report of the Committee on Taxation of The City of New York. 1916.

Housing Problems in America. Proceedings of the Fourth National Conference on Housing, Minneapolis, October 6-8, 1915.

LAW AND ORDER IN INDUSTRY. By Julius Henry Cohen. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

MEMORIES OF A PUBLISHER, 1865-1915. By George Haven Putnam, Litt.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE STATE.

By Henry Jones Ford. Princeton,
N. J.: Princeton University Press.

\$1.

THE OPERATION OF THE INITIATIVE,
REFERENDUM AND RECALL IN OREGON.
By James D. Barnett, Ph.D. New
York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

THE PORTLAND SURVEY, By Ellwood P. Cubberley. School Efficiency Series. Edited by Paul C. Hanus. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company.

PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION. By William Bennett Munro. New York: The Macmillan Company.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE ON VALUATION, PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 10–13, 1915. The Utilities Magazine, January, 1916. Philadelphia: The Utilities Bureau, \$2.

STUDIES IN THE COST OF URBAN TRANS-PORTATION SERVICE. By F. W. Doolittle. American Electric Railway Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York.

VOTING IN THE FIELD. By Josiah H. Benton, LL.D. Boston: Published by the Author.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Recent Public Service Commission Reports.—Several public service commissions have recently issued their reports. These volumes indicate a serious study upon the part of the commissions of the intricate problems of utility regulation, and lead to the conclusion that rapid progress is being made by the commissions in the development of definite principles and precedents in the control of utility corporations.

The New Hampshire public service commission has adopted the practice of issuing two companion volumes, one designated as the report of the public service commission of New Hampshire, which contains the statistical data and reports of the various companies; the other designated as the New Hampshire public service commission reports, containing the opinions and decisions of the commission. Volume IV of the last mentioned series

has appeared and its value is greatly enhanced by the fact that it contains an index-digest of all the opinions thus far rendered, and contained in volumes I to IV inclusive. This digest is complete and carefully arranged, and makes it easy to ascertain the principles of control developed and applied by the commission.

The 1914 report of the public service commission of Maryland² contains the statistical report of the commission, as well as its opinions and decisions. The opinions of this commission in many cases are so brief and concise that it is difficult if not impossible to gather the principles of control applied. The volume is difficult to use, owing to the lack of a service-able index.

¹ New Hampshire Public Service Commission reports, vol. iv.

Report of the Public Service Commission of Maryland—1914, vol. v.

Published reports are issued by the Kansas commission only biennially. The second report¹ of this body indicates a period of activity. The commission has developed and is making large use of the "informal" method of handling complaints. Under this method, upon the receipt of a communication, complaining of an injustice, discrimination, poor service or improper practices upon the part of a utility, the commission immediately enters into correspondence with the utility complained against, and in many cases succeeds in bringing about adjustments and satisfactory conditions without the necessity of a formal hearing and decision. Apparently most of the commission's attention has been directed towards freight, passenger and express rates and service, rather than to local utility problems. The most important capitalization case ever decided by the commission, the application of the Kansas City, Mexico and Orient railway company. is reported in this volume. This case involves questions regarding the proper policy to be adopted and carried out in cases of insolvency and reorganization.

The Massachusetts railroad commission was in 1913 given larger powers and jurisdiction and made into the Massachusetts public service commission. The second annual report of this body2 contains a valuable discussion of the general problems of regulation, as well as the opinions and orders issued regarding capitalization, rates, and service. The problem of regulating utility securities has for many years been an important one in Massachusetts, as this commonwealth began regulating capitalization long before most of the other states had undertaken this task, This report indicates the importance which still attaches to this problem, in Massachusetts. The most noteworthy decision contained in the volume is that rendered in the Boston and Middlesex rate case. In this decision the commission definitely rejects the cost of reproduction theory as a basis for rate making, and asserts that securities which have been issued under direct authorization of the state and which represent a bona fide investment, must be protected in rate making cases.

The 1914 report of the public utilities commission of Ohio3 contains both the statistical data regarding the utilities of the state and the orders and decisions of the commission. The report indicates that much of the activity and time of the commission has been directed to making physical valuations of utility property, under the provision of the law which obligates the commission to make physical valuations of the property of public service corporations upon request of the council of the municipality where the whole or major portion of the property is located. As the law now stands the council is not required to disclose to the commission, or to anyone else, the purposes for which such valuation is desired. But when the purpose has not been indicated the commission has proceeded upon the theory that such valuation is to be made for rate making purposes. Under the above mentioned provision of the law the commission is now in process of completing the valuations in several Ohio cities.

The Missouri commission has issued its first and second annual reports containing its statements as to the work accomplished.4 It has also just issued volume I of its opinions and decisions.5 These decisions have the merit not possessed by those of all of the commissions, that the principles involved and the grounds upon which the decisions rest are fully and amply stated. Their value is also increased by the excellent brief which precedes each decision. The commission in this volume establishes certain important principles with regard to utility capitalization, as for example, it holds that the approval by the commission of the issu-

¹ Second biennial report of the Public Utilities Commission of Kansas, 1915.

 $^{^2}$ Second annual report of the Public Service Commission, Massachusetts, 1914.

³ Annual report of the Public Utilities Commission of Ohio, 1914.

⁴ First and second annual reports, Missouri Public Service Commission.

⁵ Public Service Commission reports, Missouri, vol. i.

ance of stocks and bonds is not to be taken as a guarantee by the commission of such securities, and that in cases of reorganization of insolvent corporations, the capitalization must be cut down to correspond to the value of the property involved.

The 1914 report of the Georgia railroad commission1 follows the precedent previously established, of including only those few of the opinions and decisions which the commission considers of the largest public importance. It is to be regretted that the appropriations of several of the commissions are so meager that the complete publication of all the opinions and decisions is rendered impossible. One of the most important decisions reported is in the case of the Macon railway and light company. This case raises the question as to whether and how far a local utility may be required to build extensions of its lines. The commission establishes the principle that it is the duty of a gas or electric company to serve all who reside within an established service zone, or who are similarly situated with reference to its system, and that this obligation may be enforced by compelling an enlargement of its plant or extension of its facilities.

The first annual report of the Pennsylvania public service commission² gives a description of the work of the commission, statistical data and information, and a brief statement of the questions involved in each decision, although the opinions are not given in full. The act under which this commission operates provides that no contract or agreement entered into between any utility and any municipality shall be valid unless first approved by the commission. The report indicates that 153 such contracts have been submitted to the commission for its approval. Many of these contractual franchises were modified by the commission before approval was granted. The refusal upon the part of the commission to give its approval to one such municipal franchise

resulted in a movement by the officers of some of the smaller municipalities to have this part of the act modified. During the months ending July 30, 1914, eighty-five issues of stocks and bonds received the attention of the commission. This commission's control over capitalization differs in nature from that of the other commissions which regulate the issuance of securities; as it is not required to grant its direct approval to the issue, but instead gives a "certificate of valuation" to the corporation, which may serve as a guide to the investors.

The usefulness of the first annual report of the Colorado public utilities commission⁸ is somewhat limited by the fact that the number of pages to be contained in the annual reports is restricted by statute. This provision makes necessary the publication of certain of the proceedings in digest form. The commission has published a compilation of its conclusions on various matters involving interpretations and constructions of the law, in order that the conclusions expressed may be regarded as precedents governing matters of similar import. The public utilities law, as originally passed, provided that a certificate must be issued by the commission before any utility could issue stocks, bonds, notes, or other evidences of indebtedness. But these sections of the law were referred to the people in the general election held in November 1914, and were defeated. The commission points out that by the defeat of these sections, its earning power has been greatly diminished.

The legislature of West Virginia in establishing the Public service commission entrusted to it the administration of three separate acts: the public service commission act, the workmen's compensation act, and the hydro-electric power act. The first annual report of the commission indicates that the unrelated work required under the workmen's compensation act has been assigned to a special

¹ Forty-second report of the Railroad Commission of Georgia.

² First annual report of the Public Service Commission of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

³ Public Utilities Commission of Colorado, First annual report.

State of West Virginia, Public Service Commission First annual report.

bureau in the exclusive charge of one of the commissioners. The report contains the bylaws of the commission, its rules of practice and procedure, the rules and the regulations adopted governing the tests of electricity, gas, and water meters, and the general orders and decisions of the commission. The statute under which the commission operates provides that the commission shall not reduce any rates, within ten years after the completion of a plant, below a point which would produce less than an 8 per cent return. But it is significant that in the most important rate case passed upon by the commission, which involved the rate charged by eight of the leading natural gas companies of the state, the commission regarded a 12 per cent return in this industry as being a reasonable one.

The biennial report of the public service commission of Vermont¹ contains the report of the commission to the legislature, as well as the opinions and decisions rendered. The volume contains the statement issued by the conference of railroad commissioners of Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts upon the proposition of the Boston and Maine railroad to increase its rates for transportation. The commission reports that it has no additional legislation to recommend regarding the control of utilities in Vermont. Perhaps the most important rate case reported is Re Addison & Panton telephone and telegraph company, et als. In this case the commission develops the principle that securities, the issuance of which has previously been authorized by the commission, must be protected by the commission in making of rates to be borne by the consumers.

The Washington commission has published its fourth annual² report. Much of this commission's attention is occupied by a problem which does not exist for the eastern commissions—the proper regula-

tion of irrigation companies, a task which the commission finds difficult because of the laxness of legislation upon this subject. The problem of the Washington commission is also a peculiar one in that electric service, in this state, with minor exceptions, is supplied by a few large companies, by means of high power lines, extending in some instances hundreds of miles from the source of power to the point of consumption. To value such systems and equitably apportion such value to the various communities served, the commission has found a difficult task.

The second report of the Arizona commission³ throws little light upon the rate making principles actually applied by the commission, although it contains several rate decisions. The functions of this commission are numerous and diverse, as it not only has jurisdiction over the utilities of the state, but also the insurance, investment, and surety companies. Probably the most important capitalization case decided is in the application of the Southern Pacific company for authority to issue \$55,000,000 in bonds. In this case the commission clearly takes the position that it can grant its authority to the issuance of securities, even though such securities represent expenditures on property situated in other states. This position raises a far reaching question of jurisdiction, concerning which there is as yet no authoritative judicial determination.

Since the issue of the pamphlet report noted in last year's review, the Illinois public utilities commission has published its complete report for the year 1914 in two substantial volumes. The first gives, in addition to the report proper, its orders and decisions, rules and changes in freight classifications. Volume II on transportation statistics includes steam, electric, and street railroads, and sleeping car, express and steamboat companies.

RALPH E. HEILMAN.4

¹ Fourteenth biennial report of the Vermont Public Service Commission,

² Fourth annual report of the Public Service Commission of Washington.

^{*} Second annual report of the Arizona Corporation Commission.

⁴ University of Illinois.

Housing Reports.¹ In adding this supplement to the lists of reports on hous-

¹Akron, O.—Report of Housing Committee in year book of Chamber of Commerce. 1914-15. Boston—Women's Municipal League of Boston.

Annual report of Department of Housing.

Bridgeport, Conn.—A Brief Survey of Housing Conditions in Bridgeport, Connecticut, by Udetta D. Brown for the Bridgeport Housing Association.

1914.

Brookline, Mass.—The Wooden Apartment House Question in Brookline, 1915.

Buffalo.—Tenement House Number, Buffalo Sanitary Bulletin. Published by the Department of Health. 1914.

Burlington, Vt.—A Survey of the City of Burlington.—Its Housing Conditions, 1915, by Udetta D. Brown. Made under the direction of the Committee on Social Survey.

California.—First annual report of the Commission of Immigration and Housing, 1915. Sections deal with the tenement house problem in San Francisco and the lodging house problem in San Francisco. There is also a chapter on housing; San Francisco, tenements, family dwellings, lodging houses; Sacramento; Fresno; Bakersfield, Visalia, etc.; Los Angeles and San Diego; general conclusions.

Chicago.—Chicago Housing Conditions: Part VIII, Among the Slovaks of the twentieth ward, by Helen L. Wilson and Eunice Wakelee Smith; Part IX, The Lithuanians of the fourth ward, by Elizabeth Hughes; Edited by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, Department of Social Investigation. (Russell Sage Foundation) 1914.

Cleveland, O.—An Investigation of Housing Conditions of Cleveland's Workingmen. The Best, the Average, the Worst, 1914. By the Division of Health, Bureau of Sanitation.

El Paso, Texas.—Housing Health Survey, by Jos. H. Grossman. For El Paso Chamber of Commerce. Johnstown, Pa.—Infant Mortality. Results of a Field Study. 1915. Housing Section—By Federal Children's Bureau.

Kansas City, Mo.—Annual reports of Board of Public Welfare.

Massachusetts.—First annual report of the Homestead Commission. Public Document No. 103, 1914. Second annual report of the Homestead Commission. Public Document No. 103, 1015.

——Annual reports of the Massachusetts Civic League. Reports of the Committee on Housing.

The Problem of Immigration in Massachusetts. Report of the Commission om Immigration. House Document No. 2300, 1914. Chapter III. The Housing of the Immigrant.

Minneapolis.—Housing Problems in Minneapolis.

A preliminary investigation made for the Committee on Housing of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association. 1914.

New Jersey.—Reports of the New Jersey State Board of Tenement House Supervision. ing conditions which have already appeared in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL

New York.—Housing Reform in New York City, 1914. By the Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society.

— Report of the Heights of Buildings Commission to the Committee on the Committee on Height, Size and Arrangement of Buildings of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of the City of New York. 1913.

— Housing Conditions Among Negroes in Harlem, New York City. 1915. By the Housing Bureau of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes.

— A Social Survey of the Washington Street District in New York City. 1914. Under the direction of the Trinity Church Men's Committee.

— Annual reports of the Dwellings of Trinity Church Corporation by Emily W. Dinwiddie.

New York State.—Report of Commission in the Matter of the Investigations of Housing of the People in Cities of the Second Class. Senate Document No. 25. 1915.

Passaic, N.J.—A Survey of Housing Conditions in Passaic, N.J., with recommendations by the National Housing Association, 1915. By Udetta D. Brown. For the Housing Committee of the Board of Trade.

Philadelphia.—A study of the Housing and Social Conditions in Selected Districts of Philadelphia, 1915, by Frank A. Craig, M.D. For the Henry Phipps Institute.

— Fourth annual report of the Philadelphia Housing Commission. 1914.

Reports of the Octavia Hill Association.
Plainfield, N. J.—Housing Conditions in Plainfield and North Plainfield, 1914, by Udetta D.
Brown. For the Anti-Tuberculosis League and the Charity Organization Society.

Orange, N. J.—A Report on Housing Conditions in the Oranges, 1915, by Edith Rockwell Hall, field secretary of the Civic Committee of the Woman's Club.

Richmond, Va.—Report on Housing and Living Conditions in the Neglected Sections of Richmond, Va., 1913, by Gustavus A. Weber, secretary of the Society for the Betterment of Housing and Living Conditions in Richmond.

Springfield, Ill.—Housing, by John Ihlder, in the Springfield Survey, Russell Sage Foundation.

United States.—Government Aid to Home Owning and Housing of the Working People in Foreign Countries. 1915. U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Question of the Housing of Workmen in Europe and America, 1913, by Robert Francis Irvine, M.A. To the governor of New South Wales, Australia.

—— Satellite Cities, a study of industrial suburbs, by Graham Romeyn Taylor. National Municipal League Series. Published by D. Appleton & Co. 1915.

Washington, D. C.—Report of Housing Committee of District of Columbia Section, National Civic Federation, Woman's Dept. 1914.

REVIEW, the most significant point to note is the variety of sources from which these reports come, evidence of our growing realization that housing is a factor of first importance in many social and economic problems. Similar evidence is given in recent books on social and economic subjects, but only one of these is listed—Graham R. Taylor's "Satellite Cities," a study of industrial suburbs, in which nearly every chapter contains a description of housing conditions.²

In order to bring out the significant point let us classify briefly some of these reports. First place belongs by right of discovery to social and civic organizations which first awakened to the facts that we were creating slums in our cities and that these slums were a social and civic menace. So nearly exclusively did such reports once occupy the field, that housing has been, in the minds of many people, only a slum problem. Though these organizations not only still produce reports, but produce an increasing number of them, the emphasis is changing. We are not yet rid of our slums-far from it-but we are recognizing the close relationship between housing in the worst districts and that in the best. Our vision has broadened, we now see not only a submerged class, but the whole community.

Indicative of this change are such reports as those of Miss Brown on Bridgeport, Conn., and Burlington, Vt., and that of John Ihlder on Springfield, Ill. Within this group, but in a division by themselves, are the series of intensive studies of small districts or of particular groups, like those made by the Chicago school of civies and philanthropy, of which the latest numbers, 8 and 9, are here listed. These are not to be considered individually but collectively and it is to be hoped that the series will not stop until every phase of Chicago's housing has been studied, the best and the average as well as the worst, the dwellings of the well-to-do American born whites as well as those of Slovaks, Lithuanians and Negroes.³ For then only will they present a picture of Chicago's housing ideals and tendencies which will enable us to clearly visualize the task that lies before Chicago's housing workers.

Second place goes to government publications, for the United States bureau of labor, long before it became a department. issued reports on the housing problem. And now it is joined in this work by the children's bureau. These publications reflect what is engaging the public interest of their time. In 1894 the commissioner of labor issued a special report on the slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia. Since then the bureau has published reports on the housing of working people (1895), the housing of working people in the United States by employers (1904), and building and loan associations in the United States (1904). Now appears a volume on government aid to home owning and housing of working people in foreign countries.4 Meanwhile the children's bureau is giving more and more attention in its investigations to the dwellings in which children live-and die. It, too, is beginning, logically, among the poorest and the alien; but it, too, is broadening the scope of its inquiries so that it will present pictures of community ideals and tendencies.

Among the state governments Massachusetts is a leader in this field. Its homestead commission, starting with a peculiar care for workingmen as a class, has already given evidence that it recognizes in housing more than a class problem. Its report on government aid antedated that of the United States department of labor. Its annual conferences of city and town planning boards, for the creation of which it was responsible, show its growth. At the same time the commission on immigration has included a chapter on housing in its report on the problem of immigration in Massachusetts. But here Massachusetts must yield pre-

¹ See vol. i, no. 4, p. 693; vol. iii, no. 1, p. 168 and vol. iii, no. 4, p. 790.

² See vol. v, p. 89.

³ For the titles of preceding numbers see lists previously published in the Review.

⁴ See National Municipal Review, vol. iv, p. 505.

cedence to California, which in 1913 organized a commission of immigration and housing, which issues annual reports.

These intensive studies of the needs of particular groups fit into the more comprehensive studies. Reports from southern cities naturally deal largely with the negro, though an earlier tendency to consider his housing as constituting a problem unrelated to that of the rest of the community is dying out. Northern reports also deal with the negro specifically; and now we have one by the National League on urban conditions among negroes on housing conditions among negroes in Harlem, New York City.

Another evidence of the broadening interest in housing is given by the commercial organizations which have made investigations. The Cleveland chamber of commerce has long given attention to the subject. More recently others have joined it and now come the Minneapolis civic and commerce association, the Passaic, N. J., board of trade, the Akron, O., chamber of commerce. Our business men are beginning to see that a well-housed working population promises certain definite advantages to business. Their interest is not purely selfish, at least it is enlightenedly selfish; but logically they approach the question from their accustomed point of view. The significant thing is that as they approach they begin to recognize other points of view. It took the discovery of slums to arouse Minneapolis. Now there is not only a demand for legislation which will set wholesome standards for all dwellings, but there is a strong sentiment for protected residence districts and even a dream of garden suburbs and a growing condemnation of the apartment house-of which Minneapolis is getting more than its share.

Strange as it seems, it is only within the past year that our anti-tuberculosis societies have really awakened to the importance of good housing standards in their crusade. Among them is the Plain field, N. J., anti-tuberculosis league which joined with the local charity organization society in financing a housing investigation. Quite as significant is the action

of the Henry Phipps Institute which has published a valuable report on a study of the housing and social conditions in selected districts of Philadelphia. Some of our public health officials have been longer concerned, as is shown by the report on the housing of Cleveland's workingmen, yet among them the importance of housing as a factor in public health has not been generally recognized. The reports of these private agencies may have a stimulating effect.

There is one other group of reports that must be specifically mentioned, those issued annually by agencies, official and unofficial, which are devoting all or a definite part of their energies to housing betterment. This group, of course, includes the reports of the Massachusetts homestead commission, the Kansas City board of public welfare, and the California commission of immigration and housing. It also includes such reports as those of the New York tenement house department and the New Jersey board of tenement house supervision, and in addition those of organizations like the Philadelphia housing commission, the Massachusetts civic league, Trinity Church corporation and the Philadelphia Octavia Hill association.

JOHN IHLDER.

Centralized Purchasing in New York City.—For over a year New York City has been engaged in the interesting experiment of purchasing through consolidated proposals and contracts, supplies, materials and equipment for the departments directly under the mayor. This has been done without charter amendment by the co-operation of the heads of fourteen large departments and of fourteen smaller offices. The end in view has been to demonstrate the practicability and advantages of central purchase in a city of the size of New York and to put into effect, so far as was possible without change in law, the modifications of administrative practice required by centralization before calling upon the legislature for authority

 $^{1}\,\mathrm{See}$ National Municipal Review, vol. v, p. 151.

to go farther. A further purpose has been to add experience to theory in determining just what legislation it was desirable to ask for. The report of the mayor's central purchasing committee issued underdate of October 1, 1915, covering the first year's work, shows that the plan has had excellent results in the opinion of those most closely connected with it.

This committee, appointed by Mayor Mitchel in November, 1914, with Henry Bruère, city chamberlain, as chairman, and F. R. Leach as secretary, soon associated with itself departmental representatives most familiar with purchasing and the needs of their respective departments. Under the direction of members of this associate committee best fitted to guide the purchase of each class of goods, seventeen subcommittees have co-operated on the preparation of the joint proposals, with the result that each proposal has represented the best purchasing experience in the city government.

The plan of operation has included the following steps:

1. The submission of estimates by the departments has been schedulized, precedence being given to supplies of current indispensable use, such as food supplies, forage, fuel, lubricants and gasoline;

2. With these estimates before them the subcommittees decide by conference the terms of contract proposals, and consolidated contract proposals are set up and printed in accordance with the conclusions reached;

3. The proposal being prepared, it is advertised according to law over the signatures of the heads of the several departments concerned;

4. On the day and hour of opening, the heads of departments assemble to open bids, their presence being required by present charter provisions;

5. Upon figures furnished by the departments showing the status of appropriations, advices of award are prepared in the central office and after signature by the heads of departments are forwarded to the finance department for approval of sureties, notices of award being at the tame time sent to the successful bidders;

6. The sureties being approved, the signatures of the dealers and of the head of each department concerned are secured on the contracts;

7. After final approval as to form by the law department and certification as to

funds available by the finance department, the contracts are forwarded to the contractors and certified copies to each department concerned.

By October, 1915, when the report of the central purchasing committee was published, practically all of the contact purchasing for the year of the twentyeight departments and offices under the direct supervision of the mayor had been consolidated into single contracts for like requirements. Ten, twelve and fourteen departments, respectively, joined in the proposals for cleaning materials, forage and fuel. The total value of the supplies purchased through the committee during the year (\$3,636,707.46) approximated 42 per cent of the total appropriations and special revenue bonds (issued to September 30, 1915) allotted to the mayor's departments for supplies, materials and equipment during 1915. The balance of the purchases were left to the several departments and offices—that is, those of less than \$1,000 in value for a single department, which the department did not consider it essential to purchase under a formal contract or which were precluded from this method of purchase by emergency, and also contract purchases during the early part of the year covering articles which the committee was not yet prepared to take over, and a small amount of contract purchases of articles required by but one department.

The report outlines a constructive plan for handling centrally every class of purchase by consolidating the departmental purchasing staffs, a few at a time, beginning with the four institutional departments, thus supplanting the clerical force now loaned by the commissioner of accounts. This step is now about to be taken.

The central purchasing committee has found that co-operative buying has had the following beneficial results:

1. Competition has been increased through departmental co-operation and consolidation of mailing lists, as well as by general satisfaction among dealers with the new plan, due to their having but one instead of several purchasing offices to keep in touch with, and due also to the

fact that specifications have been amended, and in other ways proposals made more attractive through the joint efforts of the departments. In the case of coal, the average competition was increased from seven bidders in the departments to thirty-five through the central purchasing committee; on canned goods and groceries, the increase was from eight to twenty; on cleaning materials and compounds from nine to thirty-five, and on clothing, dry goods and notions from ten to thirty-five;

2. Prices secured have been satisfactory to the departments and in many instances have been better than those previously secured, the reason being that consolidation of quantities and improved specifications and delivery conditions have enabled dealers to figure very closely. For example, coffee was standardized by reducing seven kinds to two and the entire quantity required for the year for all departments was advertised in one proposal for delivery in bulk, green, to Blackwell's Island, there to be roasted by the department of public charities and distributed by existing means to the points of use; the result was a reduction in the average price per pound of coffee from .168 to .139, including the cost of roasting and making allowance for shrinkage during the roasting process;

3. The 55 proposals advertised through the committee being the equivalent of 173 individual departmental proposals, and the 499 contracts and open-market order agreements executed through the committee being the equivalent of 1,149 individual departmental contracts and open-market order agreements, the expense to the city of printing, advertising and distributing proposals and of preparing and executing contracts has been greatly reduced. A material part of this saving has been in a reduction of work of the departments concerned in the approval and printing of proposals and contracts, namely—the law department, the finance department, the bureau of standards—supply division—and the board of city record;

4. Close contact with departments and dealers has enabled the committee to recommend many beneficial changes in existing specifications and has afforded a favorable opportunity to test the merits of many tentative specifications not yet adopted;

5. The establishment of a central sample room has added to the convenience of bidders and in other ways, as in adjustment of difficulties with inspection and of delays in the payment of claims, dealers have been brought to realize that city business is desirable;

6. The foundation has been firmly established for a permanent central pur-

chasing agency for the city to include all classes of purchases.

The committee's report recognizes "that all the advantages of central purchasing cannot be obtained without the actual establishment of one agency legally authorized to make all purchases." "But the test made," it adds, "has demonstrated the plain sense and financial advantage of substituting one purchasing agency for a hundred," the offices of the five borough presidents, the county offices, the courts and the numerous commissions and boards maintained by appropriations by New York city, besides the mayor's departments and offices, being included in the large number stated.

The board of estimate and apportionment and the board of aldermen have approved the recommendation included in the report that a supervising board be created to broaden the mayor's central purchasing committee to include in its scope the offices of the borough presidents, and have appropriated funds for a director of purchases, an assistant director and a small clerical force.

Meanwhile a bill to create a department of purchase has been prepared, based upon the joint experience of the central purchasing committee and of the finance department. It is unsafe to predict what success this will have in the legislature. However, it is the opinion of the writer, who has been closely associated with the work of the central purchasing committee from its inception, that regardless of the possible defeat of the bill, New York city will, through co-operative purchasing, continue to profit by a large part at least of the advantages of central purchase.

ARTHUR G. THOMAS.1

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New York City Committee on Taxation.

On April 10, 1914, Mayor Mitchel appointed a voluntary committee on taxation of twenty-five members "To make a comprehensive and exhaustive study of the several methods of taxation in use here and in other cities of this country and

¹ Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City.

abroad, and of such methods and devices as have been . . . suggested as calculated to effect an improvement in the ways and means of creating revenue. . . ." Professor E. R. A. Seligman was elected chairman of the executive committee and L. A. Tanzer was appointed executive secretary. Although the committee was not able in the year and a half of its active existence to bring to a conclusion all of the investigations undertaken, it has issued four reports of more than usual value.

A considerable share of the attention of the committee was directed to the subject of exempting improvements. Under the direction of the committee, Dr. Robert Murray Haig of Columbia University prepared two reports. One of these was devoted to a study of the exemption of improvements from taxation as now practiced in Canada and the United States, in which are presented the results of an investigation carried on during the summer of 1914. This is the most comprehensive, painstaking and impartial study which has yet been made of the so-called "single tax" experiments in Canadian and American cities. The other report prepared by Dr. Haig is entitled "Some probable effects of the exemption of improvements from taxation in the city of New York." By means of an analysis of the 1914 assessment rolls of representative sections of the city an attempt was made to determine which sections of Greater New York, which types of property and which economic classes would be affected by a reduction of the tax on buildings.

A report on excess condemnation, prepared by Herbert S. Swan two or three years ago for the National Municipal League, was revised by Mr. Swan and published by the committee, and is reviewed in this issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

The final report, published in February, reviews the work of the committee and makes a number of recommendations which may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) Against the adoption of the principle of untaxing buildings, gradually

or otherwise; (2) in favor of a state income tax as a partial means of securing additional revenue; (3) but, if a state income tax is not feasible, in favor of an abilities tax composed of a habitation tax, an occupation tax and a salaries tax for the city, either of these taxes to supersede the personal property tax; (4) against the adoption of a low-rate tax on intangible or tangible personal property; (5) in favor of the principle of a tax on the increments of land value; (6) against a super-tax on land values; (7) in favor of minor changes in the existing tax laws to simplify administration and moderately increase the revenue; (8) recommends the appointment of a committee to report upon special assessments as a means of raising additional revenue.

While these recommendations are subscribed to by a substantial majority of the committee, there is great diversity of opinion in respect to most of them. Appended to the report is a statement of the views of the majority in favor of each recommendation, followed by dissenting views of members. The appendix also contains drafts of bills prepared and a questionnaire on the untaxing of buildings with answers filed by organizations interested as well as their briefs and the testimony of witnesses.

The reports of the committee may be obtained on application to the Municipal Reference Library, 512 Municipal Building.

C. C. WILLIAMSON.

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Excess Condemnation.—It will be admitted that to an exceedingly large number of well informed persons the term excess condemnation conveys no idea. It is doubtless equally true that even to the initiated the idea conveyed is somewhat nebulous. Reduced to its lowest terms excess condemnation is the policy by which a city condemns more land than is actually needed for a public improvement and subsequently sells or leases such surplus, sometimes to make a profit due to the increased value of the land, sometimes to control the use to which the land may be put. It is only within the last

decade, however, that serious attention has been given in this country to the possible use of this policy, and until now excess condemnation has been a problem in constitutional law rather than a part of the working program of the American municipality. Thus only the most fragmentary discussions of the subject have found their way into our periodical literature and no serious attempt has hitherto been made to present a thoroughgoing analysis of it. Nearly a dozen states, however, now have either constitutional provisions or statutes providing for excess condemnation and by that token the subject becomes one of deep and general interest. In recognition of that fact the committee on taxation of the city of New York publishes, along with its own recommendations, the report prepared a few years ago by Mr. Swan.1

Disappointment is in store for those who look in this report for a well-rounded, coherent, systematic study of excess condemnation. Mr. Swan might appropriately have entitled his monograph, after the fashion of certain modern college text-books, "Readings on excess condemnation." It is a series of five chapters or papers the subjects and scope of which seem to have been determined rather by the sources of information available than by any regard for logical structure or sequence.

The first of these papers is called "The argument for excess condemnation." There are, it seems, three problems which excess condemnation may be expected to solve. By statistics, maps, and photographs Mr. Swan strikingly depicts the evil due to so-called remnants of land, malformed and unsalable fragments frequently left after a highway has been opened or widened. Excess condemnation would permit the city to condemn, replot and sell these fragments. In the second place, parks or other public improvements are frequently made hideous by the disfiguring

¹Excess Condemnation. A Report of the Committee on Taxation of the City of New York with a Report Prepared by Herbert S. Swan for the National Municipal League. New York, 1915, 121 pp.

uses to which the abutting owners put their land. Excess condemnation would allow the city to condemn this abutting property and sell it again under restrictions which would protect the beauty of the improvement. Finally, the problem of financing public improvements could be more easily met if the city were to condemn a surplus of land, hold it for an increase in value, and apply the unearned increment thus intercepted to the construction cost. An appendix is added showing the accretion in value of the land abutting on a Brooklyn street opened ten years ago. By excess condemnation it is presumed that a goodly part of this increased land value would have been paid into the city treasury. One cannot help regretting that this argument for excess condemnation was not supplemented by an argument against it, or at least a thorough-going examination of the difficulties incident to its operation. Mr. Swan is an able advocate but an impartial reader will hardly look with favor upon an entirely ex parte examnation of the problem.

In the second chapter, "financing London street improvements by recoupment," one learns that the city of London has employed excess condemnation in the opening and widening of streets since 1855. During the period down to 1913 about 40 per cent of the gross cost of making the improvements involved has been recovered by the city through the sale of the surplus land or the rents derived from it. This statistical study, supplemented by an elaborate appendix, is clearly and convincingly made. There is some attempt made to deduce from the mass of data presented principles of general application. There is no attempt, however, to apply those principles to the problems of the American municipality.

A third in this series of essays is entitled "clearance of unsanitary areas in English cities." Strictly speaking the problem of excess condemnation is not involved here, for while one finds a clear application of the principle of recoupment the private property actually condemned cannot be said to exceed that necessary to the improvement. The necessity under

the law of providing homes for dishoused persons is perhaps the main reason why these rehousing projects have been less successful from a financial standpoint than the undertakings last described. The social benefits have, however, been very great although opinions differ as to whether this is the best way of attacking the housing problem.

Chapter IV gives the legislative and constitutional history of excess condemnation in the United States from the New York statute of 1812 to the New York statute of 1915. In an appendix the text of nearly all the constitutional provisions and laws regarding excess condemnation in the various states is given in full. One or two of the cases in point are mentioned. A thoroughgoing analysis of the legal problem involved is not attempted.

A final chapter consists of the recommendations upon the matter of excess condemnation made by the National Municipal League in 1912. Its use is recommended for the solution of the problem of land remnants and the question of its constitutionality before the state and federal courts is viewed with considerable optimism.

Mr. Swan's study is comparatively, though not entirely, free from inaccuracies (see the statement on page 20 regarding the case of Eubank v. City of Richmond, 226 U.S. 137). The particular topics dealt with are handled with clearness. The selection of those topics is, however, open to severe criticism. One leaves a perusal of this report with a feeling that the conclusions formulated were the starting point of the study and that such subjects were selected for treatment as contributed to their establishment and emphasis. It is difficult on any other assumption to account for the failure to discuss many points of great importance. The unhappy experience of Belgium with excess condemnation, and the administrative and legal problems involved in its general application are dealt with perfunctorily or not at all. To rely upon this study for enlightenment will give the reader much interesting and valuable information regarding excess condemnation, but will leave him with a curiously one-sided view of the merits of the system and an exceedingly meagre insight into its fundamental problems.

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN.1

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Report in Relation to the Queens County Water Company. By Delos F. Wilcox, deputy commissioner, Department of Water, Gas, and Electricity, New York, 1915.—Dr. Wilcox's report deals in a fundamental way with the problem presented by the Queens County water company. This corporation serves one of the outlying districts of Greater New York (Far Rockaway) and also adjoining territory outside of the city. Its rates are higher than those charged by the municipal water system elsewhere in the city, much to the dissatisfaction of local residents. The general policy of the city is to extend its own water system so as to serve the entire city on the completion of the Catskill water system. For the present, however, the municipality is not in a position to acquire the company's plant or to assume its functions.

The plan proposed by Dr. Wilcox goes beyond the immediate question of readjusting rates; it seeks to arrive at a permanent solution of the problem of the relation of the city and the water company. The policy advocated is far sighted. He proposed a contract under which the city has the right within a period of ten years to acquire so much of the company's property as it would find useful for supplying water in connection with its own system. A definite valuation is assigned to this property and the annual depreciation accruing thereon is determined. The city is given the right to purchase this property at the value fixed less the depreciation accrued to the time of purchase. Similarly a computation is made of the loss from the disruption of the business, which would leave the company with property in excess of its needs for supplying water beyond the limits of New York City. As an increasing proportion of the general investment in water bearing lands and pumping equipment can be profitably used

¹University of Illinois.

in its operations outside of the city, the amount of indemnity to be paid for the severance of the city business from its system is reduced from year to year. The schedule of rates is so framed as to yield a 6 per cent return on the property of the company, and in addition to permit it to amortize, before the expiration of the contract, the loss resulting from the abandonment of the business within the city.

At the end of the contract period the city may therefore take over the property useful to it without paying any indemnity for the loss of the business. Aside from certain immediate extensions necessary for adequate service, additions are to be financed by the municipality and expenditures made under the direction of the public authorities. The company must, however, pay a rental up to 7 per cent, if earned, for the use of city built mains and extensions, where improvements and additions are ordered by the city.

The relations of the company and the city are thus placed on a stable basis. The valuation of the property to be acquired is definitely settled, and there is obviated the necessity for future valuations, tedious delays and expensive litigation. The city is protected from an increase in cost which might result from deferring purchase. The company is safeguarded against disastrous competition, and given opportunity to divert its capital gradually to the development of its business beyond the city limits.

These aspects of the report are here emphasized because they are suggestive beyond the limits of the special problem discussed. Agreement upon a valuation of the property of a utility company, for rate making and for purchase, provisions for municipal participation in financing extensions and for sharing profits or losses on such extensions are features that will doubtless be increasingly prominent in settlements between municipalities and service corporations.

The report contains a careful consideration of the general problems of valuation and rate making. In addition it deals with the interesting and difficult tasks of ascertaining or estimating costs for different districts (the section in New York City and the territory outside), and for different types of service, viz., the supply of water to general consumers, and the municipal fire service. In determining the charge for fire protection, Dr. Wilcox departs from the methods followed by the Wisconsin commission, and calculates the amount to be paid by the city on the additional capital and operating costs imposed by this service on a plant primarily established for the benefit of private consumers. This basis seems just and reasonable.

H. G. FRIEDMAN.¹



Philadelphia's Municipal Business.—It is rather in the nature of a post-mortem to review here three unusual pamphlets coming into the office of the National Municipal Review. The city of Philadelphia has had four years of a government aimed at efficiency rather than at political supremacy, and as a result the people of that great city have shown their emphatic disapproval by electing, to take office January 1, 1916, men whose relation to the city is in no wise different from that which for a long period of years has caused the city to be nationally reproached.

The first of these documents is the message of the mayor. It is dated July 1, 1915, and covers in its 28 pages a general statement which is in effect more of an appeal for a continuance of the attempt at efficient government than a dry detailing of the economics of a great city.

Mayor Blankenburg writes forcefully and picturesquely. His message is entitled "A Short Retrospect," and he adds: "A hundred million dollars expended without waste or graft efficiently in public service; five million dollars saved."

It is possible that there has been too little attention to the fact that the politician is always on the job in the administration which has thus been closed in public disapproval. It is possible—and if so it is sorrowful—that the citizens of Philadelphia prefer municipal inadequacy, municipal inefficiency and plenty

1 New York City.

of political appointments to economy and good government.

Another of these pamphlets is entitled "Plain Talk," and it is surely unique among municipal reports, for it contains pictures, cartoons, photographic comparisons and a genuinely interesting statement of what has been done under a notable man for efficient government.

This particular report deals with the operations of the director of public works, Morris Llewellyn Cooke.

It is a very human report in its recognition of business rather than political considerations; in its argument for publicity and practicality; in its comparisons, both tabular and pictorial; and in its discussion and showing of the extraordinary exhibitions which attracted many people in Philadelphia to their advantage. These exhibitions related to city affairs, and one was called the "know your city better show." I do not remember ever to have been more deeply impressed than when in seeing this show I noted an exhibit so arranged that a light went out and came on again to illustrate that within the number of seconds that had elapsed a baby had died in Philadelphia, in many cases from disease which might have been prevented by proper municipal attention.

The last of these pamphlets is entitled "Street Lighting by Gas and Gasoline," and was issued by George E. Mapes, chief of the bureau of lighting. It discusses methods and ideals in a luminous fashion.

All through these documents there appears the same note of regret and protest that the men who were doing this work for the public were not in harmony with the city council, which, at least as they represent it, was desirous of specifically defeating any efficient effort for better conditions in Philadelphia. An executive who does not have with him the legislative body under our yet stupid American method of holding a man responsible for what he cannot control, is most unfortunate.

Philadelphia has had her showing of business government and of better conditions. She has had a little look in the right direction. That she prefers the other form of government ought to mean to those who are to carry it out at least a

1See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 5.

little more devotion to the public interest than has been in evidence in the past. It may therefore be hoped that while, as it is currently reported, all efficient and faithful employes are to be at once dismissed so as to make room for political appointees, there will yet be enough disposition to consider the lives and the prosperity of the citizens of Philadelphia to prevent a return to the worst of the old conditions.

J. HORACE McFARLAND.

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Regarding Surveys by New York Bureau of Municipal Research.—In view of the growing interest in the problems of county government, it seems desirable to call the attention of the readers of the National Municipal Review to the incompleteness of and the erroneous statements contained in the review of publications on county government by Richard S. Childs, in the January issue.²

In the first place, Mr. Childs omitted entirely any reference to the very complete and instructive report by city chamberlain Henry Bruère and commissioner of accounts L. M. Wallstein on a proposed reorganization of the five county governments comprised within Greater New York. The editor of the NATIONAL MU-NICIPAL REVIEW pointed out the omission in a footnote. Although Mr. Childs gave considerable space to criticising the report on the government of Nassau county, New York, he made no mention of a similar report on the government of Monroe county. Both were submitted to the constitutional convention and published by it.

Relative to the Nassau county report, Mr. Childs wrote as follows:

The document on the government of Nassau County is typical of surveys by the bureau of municipal research, the analysis being along financial rather than political lines, illustrated with diagrams of every department. They offer no appraisal or criticism.

Three points of error which should be corrected are to be noted in connection with the above statement.

(1) The report is not "typical of surveys by the bureau of municipal research."

² See National Municipal Review, Vol. v, p. 153.

Mr. Childs is in error in calling the Nassau volume a survey. As printed plainly on the cover, it is merely "a description of organization and functions." It was never intended as a survey report and a re-examination of its pages fails to disclose the use of the word "survey." Every one of the many surveys which the New York bureau has made throughout the country has been both critical and constructive. It has always adhered strenuously to the policy of never criticising a plan of organization, method or procedure unless it could suggest an effective and practicable means of correcting the defect criticised. The descriptive report is not typical of the bureau's surveys.

(2) The analysis is not "along financial rather than political lines." The entire introduction is given over to discussing the political divisions of the county—the three town governments constituting the county and also the election, school, light, water, fire and sidewalk districts. A separate section of the report is given over to each department and office, and contains a detailed description not only of how each organization unit functions, but just what duties are performed by each individual employe. Moreover, the summary arranges the various county departments in two main groups, according to whether the administrative groups are elective or appointive. Surely, if such an arrangement fails to follow political lines, then we know not the meaning of the term. True, the salary rates of each position and the total payroll costs are included and properly so, but this does not justify describing the report as "being along financial rather than political lines."

(3) The reason why the volume examined by Mr. Childs "offers no appraisal or criticism" is simply that it represents only part of the work performed for the Nassau county commission which financed the undertaking. The commission desired that a description of the organization and functions of the county and town governments be prepared first, and this is what was submitted to the convention, and is what Mr. Childs calls typical of the bureau's surveys. Following immediately thereafter, two other volumes or parts of the undertaking were prepared and sub-

mitted to the commission. One contained three alternative constructive suggestions for reorganizing the Nassau county government, and the other was a digest of all existing laws relating to the inter-office procedure of the state and county, state and towns, and county and towns. The bureau has never been interested in preparing merely descriptive reports other than to serve as the basis for intensive study and constructive recommendations. Even the large volume descriptive of the organization of the state government of New York which the Bureau prepared in co-operation with the state department of efficiency and economy was supplemented by an appraisal and constructive suggestions published by the bureau and submitted by it to the convention.

In connection with the descriptive report of Monroe county, New York, which Mr. Childs overlooked, it might also be noted that a second volume of 251 pages of critical and constructive matter was prepared and submitted to the same authorities for which the descriptive report was made. Comprehensive survey reports on county government have also been made by the Bureau in Oregon, Colorado, Pennsylvania, etc., which fact was also overlooked by Mr. Childs when he stated that the small descriptive report of Nassau county was typical of bureau surveys.

HERBERT R. SANDS.1

The above communication was referred to Mr. Childs who made the following comment on it:

The language in my article was somewhat loose in view of the special meaning which the word "survey" seems to carry to Mr. Sands and the bureau. Substitute "description" for the word "survey" (that being what I meant) and there is not much left for us to differ over. I have been very much surprised to find that I had said anything to which the bureau would object. Mr. Sands seems to interpret the paragraph in question as a sneer at the bureau, an idea which never entered my mind.

¹ Assistant director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research in supervision of its field work.

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